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THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

New Series, Vol. VII

JULY, 1927

Number 3

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NUMBER 2

CATHOLIC BACKGROUND OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA¹

The title of this paper seems almost what might be called a tautology because after all there was no other background to have except Catholic. The European world was entirely Catholic. It was not until more than twenty-five years after the discovery of America that Luther nailed his theses on the door of the Church at Wittenburg. There were almost no rumors of the coming storm, none that could be set down as portentous. There were difficulties and some disaffection toward Rome and some mutterings of disagreement and some deservedly uttered complaints of abuses, but then there always have been and there always will be so long as we remain in this stage of human development. Those who expect that the Church ought to be without abuses and without mutterings of discontent, forget that even of the twelve the Lord Himself picked out as His apostles, one betrayed, and one denied. Surely the account of the Council of Jerusalem and the more than hints that can be gathered from Paul's Epistles make it very clear that the early Church was following very closely the divine injunction, "Be ye not too perfect."

What is supremely surprising for a great many people is the fact, that the discovery of America *should have occurred* before the Reformation. Some people almost resent the dates in the matter. To them it seems almost incredible, that before the Reformation began to shed her blessings on mankind there should have been so important a development in human accomplishment as the discovery of the New World. It requires only a

¹ Paper read at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Philadelphia, Dec. 27-29, 1926.

little study of that time, however, to make it very clear, that it was above all, Catholic influences that meant most, in bringing about the discovery of America, and that Catholic forces for nearly three centuries after the discovery of this continent, did ever so much more for the development of its resources, the civilization of its people, the education of those who desired mental development, and the making available for the benefit of mankind of its great natural treasures not only of gold and silver but also of drugs and plants and the spirit of its wide expanses than did any others.

I tried to tell that story in a volume called *The Century of Columbus*. I began to write it nearly twenty years ago and it was to have been called "What Happened at the Reformation." I was not long engaged at it however before I realized that under that title no one would read it except Catholics and very probably only a few of those and so I abandoned the idea of publishing it in that form. Besides there had come to me the recognition of the fact that what was much more important, and what I wanted to bring home to people, was what happened *before* the Reformation, when Europe was undisturbed by religious divisions. I then wrote instead, *The Thirteenth Greatest of Centuries*; and ten years later came back and completed the original volume, and called it *The Century of Columbus*. That book did not sell anything like the "Thirteenth Century," which is now somewhere in its seventieth thousand; thought I may say that I am rather conceited about it and inclined to think that it is the best illustrated volume ever published in America.

I think it was because of that volume, that I was asked by your present committee to write this paper on "The Catholic Background of the Discovery of America." If any of you are interested in the subject you will find nearly a quarter of million of words about it in that volume referred to, and yet a very dear friend with long experience in such matters and who knows the period very well, has spoken of that book as a miracle of condensation. Meantime I may at once proceed to console you with the thought that you shall not have to listen to all that quarter of a million of words, though I hope you will understand how difficult it has been for me to boil it down further into ten

thousand words or less, and how fragmentary the account of it must inevitably be under the circumstances.

It may be said at once that the hundred years from 1450-1550, about the middle of which (in 1492), Columbus discovered America and the explorations began over here, is one of the greatest centuries of human existence. I have ventured to call the thirteenth the greatest of centuries but I think that this century of Columbus, as I have called it, which represents the Renaissance has more great men than ever lived at the same time before, not excepting even the great fifth century before Christ, in Greece. The reason for calling the thirteenth the greatest of centuries was because that period too had its great men; but, besides, it accomplished wonders for the great mass of the people. I think that more people were happy during the thirteenth century, in proportion to the whole number of people alive, than has ever been true before or since. It was a period not only of great art and literature, of supreme architecture and marvelous arts and crafts, but it was also a period of education, not only for the classes, but also for the masses; though they had no delusion that teaching people to read and write makes them educated. It was a period of wonderful development of law, and liberty, and justice, and of human coöperation, through the guilds, and of care for the poor, and the development of hospitals, and of great surgery, and of the limitation of human suffering.

Taken all in all, however, and in spite of the fact that the thirteenth century had such men as St. Francis the saint, St. Louis the monarch, Aquinas the philosopher, and Dante the poet, as well as Giotto and the great builders of the cathedrals; the Century of Columbus, as I have called it, probably has more men in it whom the world will never willingly forget. After all, such a galaxy as Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, and Raphael, with Copernicus who probably revolutionized human thinking more than any other who ever lived in what concerns the universe we live in and our relations to it, Vesalius the great father of anatomy and founder of modern biological science, St. Ignatius Loyola the founder of the Jesuits and their system of education; when such men as Titian, the Bellinis, Botticelli, Correggio and ever so many others must be considered of second-rate importance; that century was fruitful in great men as no other hundred

years. The western civilization of that time, including the western and southern part of Europe, contained probably not more than fifty millions of people. Now our western civilization contains some six hundred millions of people. We ought to have a dozen times as many great men and one is prone to wonder where they are. Perhaps the night time after their death may disclose as do the shades of night now the stars of the firmament. To quote dear Father Tabb:—

‘Their noon day never knows
What stars immortal are;
’Tis night alone that shows
How star surpasseth star.’

But we may be permitted some doubts about it.

John Ruskin said that if you want to appreciate properly the products of a great period, it is important to study *three books* with regard to it. In the order of their importance these are, the book of its arts, the book of its deeds, and the book of its words. In the arts this is the period of the great Renaissance painters, whose names I have just mentioned, though there are ever so many others who deserve to be mentioned, because their work has increased in esteem and in our time commands very high prices in the auction rooms. It is manifest that these men created for all time. An American millionaire bought not long since one of the smaller and lesser Madonnas by Raphael and yet one of those that is counted among his masterpieces. This is the Cowper Madonna, so called because it belonged for several centuries to the Cowper family in England. To secure it the American millionaire paid \$725,000. Pictures by Botticelli, by Titian, by Giovanni Bellini, by Correggio, that by chance find their way to this country, are paid for always in the hundreds of thousands of dollars, so that it is evident that money means nothing compared to the value which we have set on these wonderful masterpieces of paintings, since a piece of canvas on which men put brush marks nearly five hundred years ago can command such prices.

As I pointed out in my volume on, *The World's Debt to the Catholic Church*, the great painters of this time owed their subjects to Catholic inspiration, their incentive to do fine work

to their recognition of the fact that their pictures would be the delight of thousands who visited the churches, and very often, indeed almost invariably, they owed the wages that would be paid for their labor, to churches or monasteries or convents, which wanted the pictures, or to wealthy patrons who desired to have pictures of themselves and their patron saints hung in the churches or in private chapels. Without such patronage the path of the artists in life would have been rather hard. As it was, they received not only good prices for their work but also prestige, and they came to be known in various parts of Italy, and were invited here and there to do decorative work of one kind or another. It was not only Michelangelo, Raphael and Leonardo who were thus invited round, but most of the other artists whose names we know and whose work is (in any) estimation.

As a result of this patronage of art, not only painting but sculpture and the arts and crafts, so many wonderful examples of which were made during the generation in which the discovery of America occurred, the churches were veritable museums of beautiful objects. The word *museum* means a temple of the muses, in the sense that objects worthy of the attention of the muses, or that had been inspired by the muses, were there gathered together. In our day we have come to appreciate the value of museums for the education of popular taste and the development of the spirit of beauty in humanity. Our millionaires have given and left in their wills large sums of money for the development of museums. Nearly everyone of our larger cities is now intent on increasing the value and significance of its museum. Citizens are engaged in generous rivalry in helping out this work.

It is extremely difficult however to get people to go to the museums. With us in New York about one in ten of the population, that lives within the conventional distance of forty-five minutes from Broadway, goes to the museum once a year. On the other hand, something over three hundred million of people go every year to the movies. I have no special objection to the movies as such, but the contrast is interesting. It is about like "Abie's Irish Rose," running for five years in New York and a Shakespeare play exhausting its interest in three weeks. This

may or may not be an index of the intellectual quality of our generation. In cities other than New York where they have not the wonders of the Metropolitan Museum, the attendance is if possible proportionately smaller. In some of the cities most of the citizens have no idea whether their hometown possesses a museum or not. In going around lecturing I have often asked the committee sent to receive me to show me their museum and usually there has had to be an informal conference as to whether they had a museum and where it was and when it was open.

The churches in the pre-Reformation time were veritable museums, and the laws of the Church required people to go to them nearly a hundred times every year. They had to be present at Mass on Sundays and holydays of obligation and holydays were much more frequent than they are now. There were probably between thirty and forty of them every year in every diocese, nearer forty in most of them. Besides, people had to go for confession, and then besides they went for devotion. Cardinal Gasquet in his story of *The Medieval Parish*, says that probably more than half the people in the Cathedral towns went to Mass nearly every morning in the pre-Reformation days. Everybody was for some time in the church then on the average of a hundred times a year. While engaged in their devotions they were in the presence of all this beautiful art. The attitude of mind was very different from that in which people often go to museums. There was not the distraction of trying to see several hundred pictures in the course of an hour, which so far as cultivation of taste is concerned, is worse than useless. They sat or knelt or stood in a particular place where their attention was likely to be called to one particular work of art, and the influence of this just poured out on them. This was ideal for the cultivation of the spirit of beauty and of art appreciation, though that was not the original intention.

This was the period of the great Renaissance architecture in Italy. Some of us may not quite forgive these generations between 1450 and 1550 for condemning the Gothic and devoting themselves to the revivification of classical ideas in architecture, but we cannot help but admire some of the results that they produced. It is to them we owe the term "Gothic," which was applied originally as a mark of contempt, as if it had been

worthy only of our Gothic or barbarian ancestors and this we find it hard to pardon them; but they themselves created such wonderful structures that no wonder so many of our modern buildings, of which we think the most, are patterned after them. Our New York Public Library is just an Italian Renaissance building set down in Fifth Avenue in the twentieth century and the Public Library in Boston is patterned after the Library of St. Geneviève in Paris and many of our handsome buildings have this Renaissance influence very marked in their construction. The Metropolitan Museum in New York is another example, and the Natural History Museum reminds us of certain of the French *châteaux* that date from this period, and in which particularly Italian ideas were dominant. After studying the painting, the architecture and the sculpture, for this is the time of not only Leonardo and Michelangelo but also of Donatello and of Verrocchio, of Lucca della Robbia and Benvenuto Cellini, as well as John of Bologna, one need only look at some of the great sculpture done by these men to have the feeling, that if there was a great discovery to be made in their time, it would surely be made by a fellow countryman of the geniuses, who made cold marble and bronze to live so vividly under the inspiration of their ideas, and the magic of their hands.

But this was the time not only of great art in Italy, but also of great science. It is this that people usually know nothing of, and therefore find it difficult to understand, how in the generation before the Reformation, an Italian should have been so intent on solving the problem of getting to the Indies by sailing to the West, because he was thoroughly convinced that the earth was round, and this was the easiest and nearest way to tap the rich commerce of the eastern ports. A great cardinal of this time, not an Italian but a man who spent much time in Italy, Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, did not hesitate to declare, that this earth of ours "which cannot be the centre cannot be entirely lacking in motion." He added that "this earth cannot be fixed but moves in the heavens as the other stars." All this had been written in the generation before Columbus. Another of the men whose influence was deeply felt in Columbus' generation, was Georges Von Puerbach, the Austrian astronomer, a protégé of Cardinal Nicholas, who was lecturing on astronomy at the

University of Ferrara, as the result of Cardinal Nicholas' influence, and who refused offers of professorships at Bologna and Padua, because he wanted to go back to Vienna to teach in his alma mater.

Then there was the man, whom we know as *Regiomontanus*, which is merely the Latinization of the name of his birthplace, Königsberg, that is King's Mountain. This was not however the Königsberg in northeastern Germany that we have heard about since the War, but in Franconia, not far from Munich. He was a priest and according to his family and christian name would be plain Father Johann Müller. Cardinal Bessarion, the great Renaissance scholar, who encouraged the study of Greek, became very much interested in Müller, because he had taken up the work of providing an abridgement of Ptolemy's *Almagest* in a Latin translation, gave him an opportunity to study in Italy. Müller made a series of observations of great value, and substituted Venus for the moon, as a connecting link between the observations of the sun, the stars and the earth. He published a series of astronomical leaflets *Ephemerides astronomicae* and a series of calendars for popular information. He was invited to Rome to become papal astronomer, and to take up the practical work of correcting the calendar. He died at the early age of forty, though not before he had been chosen bishop of Regensburg (Ratisbon), as a tribute to his scholarship and his piety. He thus became a successor in the bishopric of Albertus Magnus, who had been in his time, one of the profoundest of scholars and greatest of scientists. I said in my volume, *The Century of Columbus* that "the tradition of appreciation of scholarship and original research had evidently been maintained for the three centuries that separate the two bishop-scientists."

Father Müller was born in Nüremburg the same year as Martin Behem or Behaim, the well known navigator and cartographer. On his return to Nüremburg after some years of wandering, he made in 1493, the famous terrestrial globe, which was meant to illustrate to his townsmen, the state of geography at that time, as the Spaniards and Portuguese had been making it, as the result of their explorations and their voyages of discovery around the Cape of Good Hope. Behem's work was a striking testimony to the progress that geographic knowledge

had made at this time. Only for the preservation of this globe, we could scarcely have believed in the modern time, how correct were the notions of the scholars of the period with regard to the older continent at least. There has been some question whether Behem and Columbus were not in contact with each other during their wanderings. If they were, it would be easy to understand Columbus' confidence that by sailing westwards he would reach the Indies. Indeed he probably derived from Behem either directly or indirectly, the idea which encouraged him so much in his attempts to organize the expedition, that after all, the distance to the Indies, by sailing west, was not very long. This mundane sphere was much smaller in Columbus' mind than it actually is in reality, so that it was no wonder he was inclined to think that he had touched the Indies, meaning the outermost rim of the islands, beyond Farther India, when he reached, what we now know, as a consequence of his mistake, as the West Indies.

There was another distinguished physical scientist, but this time an Italian, who is thought to have influenced Columbus rather deeply. There has been a controversy in recent years as yet unsettled, as to just what their relations were. This was Toscanelli, who besides being a physician, was a mathematician and astronomer, but has remained in history as a geographer or cosmographer. Toscanelli and Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa were fellow-students at the University of Pudia, where Toscanelli's course consisted of mathematics, philosophy and medicine. He received his degree of doctor of medicine and philosophy at the same time, as so many of the physicians of that age did. Toscanelli settled down as a practising physician in Florence and took up scientific studies of rather broad extent, which brought him into connection not only with the students of science, but with the scholars and artists of the time. Brunelleschi and he were intimate friends, but so also were Antoninus and others interested in the Renaissance movement. Toscanelli was known well outside of Italy, and Regiomontanus, that is—Father Müller, often consulted him. His famous chart or map indicated just how a navigator might reach the ports of India by sailing westward, and Columbus is said to have carried a copy of this chart with him on his first voyage. Whether this is true or not, there

is no doubt of Toscanelli's enduring place in the history of science, because of his distinguished original work in astronomy, geodesy and geography. His career makes it much easier to understand that of Columbus and his discovery of America.

There was another great contemporary of Columbus who made an immortal name for himself in science, but who was probably more influenced by Columbus than influencing him, for he was an ever so much younger man. This was Copernicus to whom we owe probably a greater change of viewpoint with regard to man's relation to the universe, than came from any other in the whole history of humanity. In lecturing on the century of Columbus, I have been accustomed to say that there were three men with "k" sounds, very prominent in the names by which they are usually thought of, who represent immortal contributions to human thought. These are *Columbus* himself, *Copernicus* and *Kempis* or á Kempis. Columbus gave men a new world here on earth, Copernicus gave them a new universe, and Thomas á Kempis opened up for them a new world within their own souls. All three of them are men of profound genius in the sense of taking steps into the hitherto unknown, along pathways which would readily guide others to follow them. No three men who lived within the same hundred years have ever so deeply affected the thinking of mankind as these three.

Usually in our time, Copernicus is looked upon as the greatest of these three, but á Kempis has been much more taken to humanity's heart, and altogether over three thousand editions of his little book have been published in the various languages, that is an average of seven every year since his time. No wonder that Harvard a few years ago was willing to spend nearly \$100,000 in securing the greatest á Kempis collection in the world.

Other sciences besides astronomy, mathematics and geography, were just waking up when Columbus discovered America. In anatomy for instance, Leonardo da Vinci was doing some wonderful work. He became occupied with the subject, as the result of his interest in painting and sculpture. He did so many dissections and made pictures of them moreover, that he might very well have followed out his declaration, that he would write a text book on anatomy, and have made by far the

best text book up to that time. Indeed now that we know all of his anatomical plates, many people are inclined to think that the text book of anatomy written by Leonardo da Vinci would have excelled that of Vesalius, the father of anatomy as he is called, which was not published until twenty-five years after the death of Leonardo. Some idea of the way that anatomy was cultivated in Italy at this period, will be gathered from the fact that Vesalius, a Belgián, having graduated at the University of Louvain, found that he could not get anatomical material for research work, and migrated to Paris. There he was no better off. At Louvain he surreptitiously took down the skeleton of a criminal hanged in chains, in Paris he prowled among the catacombs and secured bones. He went to Italy however and under the ægis of the church secured abundant opportunities for dissection, spent many years of his life as professor at various universities down there, and then wrote and published his great text book of anatomy. This is the well-known *Fabrica humani corporis* one of the bibliographic treasures of medicine for all time.

Just before and after the discovery of America by Columbus, there was an immense amount of interest in human anatomy, both normal and pathological. Pathology the science of disease particularly attracted men's attention. Professor Montagnana of Padua, Professor Savonarola of Ferrara, the grandfather of the martyr Dominican, and Professor Arcolani of Bologna, described a number of different lesions which they had noted in the many bodies then being dissected. That would be about the middle of the fifteenth century or shortly afterward. It is very amusing to have modern writers here in America like White and Draper speak of the Church opposing dissection or the opening of bodies at this period, for not only were all the medical schools and the professors of medicine and anatomy making dissections quite freely, but all the artists of the period were doing the same thing even more commonly. Michelangelo made literally hundreds of dissections of human bodies in order to study the conformation of muscles and be able to understand exactly how they worked. Leonardo da Vinci made even more, and we actually have several thousand pictures of dissections made by him, which by some devious course, that we can scarcely understand, made their way

to Windsor Castle in England and were preserved there unappreciated in their true significance, until our own time when they have been printed. They make it very clear that if Leonardo had followed up his promise to compile a text book of anatomy, he would have made the greatest one ever published.

It is in the modern time in the English-speaking countries, that opposition to dissection became acute, and it was very difficult to secure dissecting materials. Through the influence of the Church, permission was obtained to use the bodies of criminals and of paupers, who had no friends, for this purpose. In the English speaking countries there was no such a law nor influence, and the result was a series of scandals in the breaking of law, just as with regard to other prohibitions. For instance, in Edinburgh, where at the end of the eighteenth century, there was the best school of anatomy in the world, it was so difficult to procure bodies, that the price paid for them finally tempted a lodging house keeper to smother some of his transient guests who seemed to have no one to claim them and sell their bodies to the dissecting rooms. He was paid ten pounds apiece for them and that would be equivalent to at least \$250.00 or \$300.00 in our values. His practice actually introduced the verb "to burke" taken from his name into the English language which means to cause some person or measure or proposed law to disappear, without any trace being left.

They had no anatomical legislation permitting a proper supply of bodies for dissecting purposes in England until the '30's of the nineteenth century. Lord Macaulay, the historian, made one of his parliamentary speeches on this subject. In this country, following the English laws, we had the same difficulty. Bodies for dissection could only be obtained by what were known as resurrectionist methods. They consisted in going to the graveyards and digging up freshly buried bodies during the night, and bringing them to the dissecting rooms where they were paid for. Usually the students themselves who wanted to take special courses in anatomy were expected to provide bodies by some such method as this. The custom was so common that we have on record the confessions of no less than six out of the first seven presidents of the New York Academy of Medicine, with regard to their taking part in this practice. They used to

go over on Long Island particularly and dig up bodies, and bring them back during the night. When the ferries were watched rather carefully, the students would wrap the corpse in a large overcoat and put it sitting on the seat beside the driver. Dr. J. V. Huntington, the convert literateur and novelist, the brother of Daniel Huntington, the painter of "Mercy's Dream" in the Corcoran Gallery at Washington, has a story *Rosemary*, which turns on the appearance in the dissecting room of a very charming young woman's body, within twenty-four hours of the burial. I think that she proved to be in a trance in the story and was revived. Huntington had been a medical student and knew the practice of resurrectionism very well.

Almost needless to say this practice raised great commotion among the people. Dissecting rooms were looked upon as awful places containing hidden secrets and in which one might find the body of a near and dear friend. The result of this feeling was that a series of "doctors' mobs" or "riots" occurred in no less than six cities in this country. The populace became excited and stoned the anatomy buildings and sometimes threatened the lives of physicians connected with the medical school. In New York we had a doctors' riot that began in an attack on the dissecting room and that cost the lives of two persons, and only for military intervention would have cost many more. Philadelphia had such a riot also, and Baltimore and New Haven. The doctors' mob or dissecting room riot in St. Louis came as late as almost the middle of the 19th century. It was due however largely to Protestant intolerance in those Americanism and Know-Nothing days, because the Jesuits were in charge of the university, and the medical school of the university was one of the departments under their authority.

You can understand how amusing it is, however, to have Americans like Draper and White talk about opposition to dissection on the part of the Church in the renaissance time, while dissection was so freely practiced in Rome and all Italy, when the condition of affairs that I have just described with regard to dissection obtained in England and America during the 19th century as the result of Protestant intolerance and pagan deterrence for the employment of dead bodies, for the

purpose of learning more about the structure of the body, and the occurrence of disease.

The most distinguished physicians and anatomists in Italy at this time were among the papal physicians. Some of them made their reputation while holding the position of physician to the pope but many of them were invited to become papal physicians, after they had exhibited their talent as investigators and observers in the sciences related to medicine. Among them, are such men as Columbus or Realdo Columbo, to give him his Italian name, who discovered the circulation of the blood in the lungs, Varolius or Varolio after whom the *pons* in the brain is named, Eustachius after whom the Eustachian tube is named, who must be considered as one of the greatest anatomists of all times and the most serious rival of Vesalius. Unfortunately Eustachius' plates were not published for a century and a half after his death, and then by another great papal physician, Lancisi, who found them in the Vatican library. Cesalpino, another of the papal physicians, described very definitely the circulation of the blood in the body before Harvey, but he was not very sure of his ground. Harvey made his demonstration of the circulation and worked out the absolute details of it after having spent some half a dozen years in study in Italy. Everyone who wanted to get a better education, than he could get at home, in any department, went down to Italy to get it, not only at this time but also for three centuries before and another three centuries afterwards. Italy was the great home of graduate teaching. Her place being preempted by France in the first half of the nineteenth century and by Germany in the second half.

It was at this time that Luigi Cornaro's book, "Means of Obtaining a Long and Healthy Life," was written, and its first of many editions published. Editions of it have been issued in nearly every generation since. Cornaro, to give a sentence or two from Addison's essay on the volume, "was of an infirm constitution until about forty when by obstinately persisting in the Rules recommended in this Book, he recovered a perfect state of health in so much that at four score he published this treatise. He lived to give a fourth edition of it and after having passed his hundredth year died without pain or agony, like one

who falls asleep. This Book is highly extolled by many eminent authors and is written with such a spirit of cheerfulness and good sense, as are the natural concomitants of temperance and virtue." In the preface to a recent American edition the publisher said: "The methods followed by Cornaro and the recommendations and suggestions submitted by him can be compared to advantage with the teachings of authority of the present day such as Metchnikoff. The book is now presented to the American public not only as a literary and scientific curiosity but as a manual of practical instruction." What is thus said is not the publisher's blurb, though these are so common at the present time, but is to be considered as an actual expression of criticism such as a modern physician would be likely to make.

They appreciated physicians rather well at this time. After all, it must not be forgotten that Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* was written within less than twenty-five years of the discovery of America and in it he has rather high praise for physicians which is all the more interesting because he does not hesitate to express rather thorough-going in appreciation of his own profession of the law, in another passage of the book. It is evident that More's long friendship with Linacre, the great English physician, who did so much for English medicine in his day, and then became a priest toward the end of his life, influenced St. Thomas More very deeply. He said of the Utopians, "They reckon the knowledge of medicine one of the most pleasantest and profitable parts of philosophy by which, as they search into the secrets of nature, so they not only find the study highly agreeable, but think that such inquiries are very acceptable to the Author of nature; and they imagine that as He, like the inventors of curious engines amongst mankind, has exposed this great machine of the universe to the view of the only creatures capable of contemplating it, so an exact and curious observer, who admires His workmanship, is much more acceptable to Him than one of the herd, who, like a beast incapable of reason, looks on this glorious scene with the eyes of a dull and unconcerned spectator."

It would seem as though we should not merely look back on the century before the discovery of America, but also look forward to the century after the discovery to see the meaning of what Columbus did. It would be a work requiring volumes to

treat of that sixteenth century in any adequate fashion, but one thing stands out in it very strikingly, considering our present day interests. Strange as it may seem, Columbus' century, 1450-1550, was not ended before two men were born who were destined to lay the foundation of a very important structure in philosophical and political thinking, that of international law. Of all places in the world, this new departure had its origin in Spain, under that monarch whose character has been so much smirched in the English speaking countries, Philip II, who has been pictured as the climax of all that was tyrannous in character and yet who not only permitted the teaching of the great free principles of international law, but actually encouraged the diffusion of them in educated circles.

It would be easy to think that there must be some pious exaggeration in the proclamation of two Spanish priests, one of them a Jesuit, Francisco Suarez, and the other a Dominican, Francis of Vittoria, usually known as Father Vittoria, the great Spanish theologian, as the founders of international law and above all the teachers of democracy. Vittoria is the man to whom is usually attributed the revival of theological activity in the Catholic universities of this period. He restored scholastic philosophy to its old time prestige, and educated a noteworthy group of wonderful disciples, among them Melchior Cano, Dominic de Soto, Bartholomew Medina, Martin de Ladesma. These together with the great Carmelite teachers of the time gave new impetus to the study of St. Thomas Aquinas.

Vittoria is usually looked upon as the father of the Salamanca or Salamanticensis School of Theology. It has been said of him "To him we owe the definitions of just and unjust warfare; in his opinion, above the dogma of international sovereignty there is the objective international law; people (because of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man) are not independent but interdependent; strict or absolute sovereignty denies the Catholic doctrine of human solidarity; there are crimes against the rights of people, such as the sacrifice of human lives and tyranny." This seems very strong teaching for the first half of the sixteenth century in Spain, so that it is scarcely any wonder to hear of the Emperor Charles V complaining to the prior of the Dominican Convent of Salamanca, against "the ex-

cessive liberty taken by the theologian Vittoria in problems of such delicacy affecting the greatness of our empire." This protest is said to have served merely to encourage the theologian to go deeper into the doctrine. The problems he touched are most interesting now. President Wilson sought to apply in practice, whether he knew it or not, the theories of Vittoria, and they form the basis of the articles 10 to 17 of the League of Nations.

Some of his declarations are indeed surprising. According to the Dominican theologian, a ruler may not dispose of territory without the consent of the people; the authority of sovereigns proceeds from the people; kings are but holders of mandates and tyranny cannot be a foundation of law. Father Vittoria even defended the principle of plebescites in case of annexation. It is almost incredible, to have it said, that all these things which seem so modern, were taught in the University of Salamanca by a Spanish Dominican friar before the middle of the sixteenth century, but Father Vittoria died in 1546.

It might be thought that all these things were buried in books hidden away in Spanish libraries where no one could get at them, but that is not what a celebration during the course of the present year has demonstrated. In Holland they organized a committee of eminent Dutch Jurists to celebrate the third centennial of the publication of the great masterpiece *De jure belli ac pacis* written by Grotius. This book represents the foundation of modern international law. The good Dutch university professors, however, who organized the celebration very soon realized that it would be almost futile to celebrate the anniversary of Grotius, unless at the same time they paid tributes to the great Spanish theologians and philosophers to whom Grotius confessed he owed so much.

Accordingly a special committee consisting of a former minister of Holland and the professors of international law of the University of Leyden, went down into Spain and placed a tablet in the famous convent, where the great Dominican lived, and a wreath of flowers before the statue of Francis Suarez in Granada. They were welcomed by the Spanish Minister of State and the Minister of Public Instruction, as well as by many professors from the universities and scientific academies of Spain. Professor Van Eysinga, of the Chair of International Law of

the University of Leyden, declared, "The Spanish theologians provided Grotius with the fundamental principles of international law. With the foundation of the League of Nations we have come to the Spanish conception of war." Talking at Madrid, Mynheer Trenb, former Minister of Commerce of Holland, spoke of the inspiration derived by his committee from the visit to the Spanish universities, where the forerunners and masters of Grotius had taught. He declared that "Grotius would not have been able to write his fundamental work, without the writings of his predecessors, and the most important among these were the theologians Vittoria and Suarez." It is well known that Grotius himself recognized with the utmost loyalty all that he owed to the Spanish theologians, and it is interesting to find, that inspired by the same spirit of gratitude, a group of Protestant Dutchmen thus visited Spain to exalt the memory of those, who were the masters of their illustrious countryman. But how many of us would have known this fact over here only for the National Catholic Welfare Council's correspondent in Spain who broadcasted the account of it so as to reach some of us at least.

The half centuries just before and after the discovery of America are full of important factors in the history of human civilization. There are probably more great men doing their work at this time than have ever lived during a corresponding period of human history. By great men I mean men whose memory the world will never willingly let die. Raphael, Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Copernicus, Vesalius, A Kempis, are only striking examples of the geniuses that abounded in that time. Besides there are all the great Italian artists of the Renaissance whose works of art now command such high prices, such men as Verocchio, Benvenuto Cellini, John of Bologna; as well as the great women of the Italian and French Renaissance. It is no wonder that after labored compression my volume, *The Century of Columbus*, had to contain a quarter of a million of words to give even any sort of condensed idea of the greatness of the period.

This volume is the book that was to have been called, "What Happened at the Reformation." The Church may well be proud of what happened at the Reformation, for just before and after

that time, her spirit was the incentive to supremely great work in the arts and sciences as well as in literature and in architecture. The spirit of the Reformation has been the dissolution factor in the progress of Christian civilization as is now very well recognized and the hope of the enduring influence of Christianity centred entirely in the spirit exhibited by the Church at this period which enabled her to bring about internal reform.

Great abuses there were in Columbus' Century, probably never greater. If we recall however that even among Christ's apostles chosen by Himself there was one who denied and one who betrayed, and that therefore, if the Church is to be apostolic, it is almost to be expected that about one in six of those chosen to lofty positions in the Church shall be recreant to their high vocations this is not surprising. The Church is a divine institution composed of men and therefore prone to exhibit all of man's failings at various times. What is interesting, however, is that in spite of abuses the Church has stood for what is best in the history of humanity at all times, and even at the time of the Reformation, what was needed was simple reform and not revolution.

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AN EPISODE IN THE CONFLICT BETWEEN BONIFACE VIII AND PHILIP THE FAIR

Among the acts emanating from the Holy See on the power of the Papacy, one of the most celebrated is the Bull *Unam Sanctam* of Boniface VIII, which was released on November 18, 1302. It has been claimed that in this Bull Boniface VIII has carried the power of the Holy See further than any of his predecessors since Gregory VII. The text of the Bull runs thus:

Unam sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam, et ipsam apostolicam, urgente fide, credere cogimur et tenere. Nosque hanc firmiter credimus et simpliciter confitemur; extra quam nec salus est, nec remissio peccatorum, Sponso in canticis proclamante: Una est columba mea, perfecta mea. Una est matri suae, electa genetrici suae: quae unum corpus mysticum repraesentat, cujus caput Christus: Christi vero Deus. In qua unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma. Una nempe fuit diluvii tempore arca Noe, unam Ecclesiam praefigurans, quae in uno cubito consummata unum (Noe, videlicet) gubernatorem habuit et rectorem, extra quam omnia subsistentia super terram legimus fuisse deleta.

"Urged by faith, we are obliged to believe and to maintain that the Church is one, holy, catholic, and also apostolic. We believe in her firmly and we confess with simplicity that outside of her there is neither salvation nor the remission of sins, as the Spouse in the Canticles (VI.8) proclaims: 'One is my dove, my perfect one. She is the only one, the chosen of her who bore her,' and she represents one sole mystical body whose Head is Christ and the head of Christ is God (1. Cor. 11.3). In her then is one Lord, one faith, one baptism (Eph. IV.5). There had been at the time of the deluge only one ark of Noe, prefiguring the one Church which ark, having been finished to a single cubit, had only one pilot and guide, i. e., Noe, and we read that outside of this ark, all that subsisted on the earth was destroyed.

Hanc autem veneramus ut unicam, dicente Domino in Propheta: Erue framea, Deus, animam meam, et de manu canis unicam meam. Pro anima enim, id est, pro se ipso, capite simul cravit et corpore: quod corpus unisam scilicet Ecclesiam nominavit, propter Sponsi, fidei, sacramentorum, et charitatis Ecclesiae unitatem. Haec est tunica illa Domini inconsutilis, quae scissa non fuit, sed sorte provenit. Igitur Ecclesiae unius et unicae unum

We venerate this Church as one, the Lord having said by the mouth of the prophet: 'Deliver, O God, my soul from the sword and my only one from the hand of the dog.' (Ps. XXI.20). He has prayed for his soul, that is for himself, head and body; and this body, that is to say, the Church, He has called one, because of the unity of the Spouse, of the faith, of the sacraments, and of the charity of the Church. This is the tunic of the Lord,

corpus, unum caput, non duo capita, quasi monstrum, Christus videlicet et Christi vicarius, Petrus Petrique successor, dicente Domino ipsi Petro: Pasce oves meas, meas, inquit, et generaliter, non singulariter has vel illas: per quod commississe sibi intelligitur universas. Sive ergo Graeci, sive alii se dicant Petro ejusque successoribus non esse commissos, fateantur necesse est de ovibus Christi non esse, dicente Domino in Joanne: Unum ovile et unicum esse pastorem. In hac ejusque potestate duos esse gladios, spirituales videlicet et temporalem, evangelicis dictis instruimur. Nam dicentibus Apostolis: Ecce gladii duo hic: In Ecclesia scilicet cum Apostoli loquerentur, non respondit Dominus nimis esse, sed satis. Certe qui in potestate Petri temporalem gladium esse negat, male verbum attendit Domini proferentis: Converte gladium tuum in vaginam. Uterque ergo est in potestate Ecclesiae, spiritualis scilicet gladius et materialis; sed is quidem pro Ecclesia, ille vero ab Ecclesia exercendus. Ille sacerdotis, is manu regum et militum, sed ad nutum et potentiam sacerdotis.

the seamless tunic, which was not rent but which was cast by lot (John XIX, 23-24). Therefore, of the one and only Church there is one body and one head, not two heads like a monster; that is, Christ and the Vicar of Christ, Peter and the successor of Peter, since the Lord speaking to Peter himself said: 'Feed my sheep' (John XXI, 17), meaning my sheep in general, not these, nor those in particular, whence we understand that he entrusted all to him (Peter). Therefore, if the Greeks or others should say that they are not confided to Peter and to his successors, they must confess not being the sheep of Christ, since Our Lord says in John 'there is one sheepfold and one shepherd.' We are informed by the texts of the gospels that in this Church and in its power are two swords, namely, the spiritual and the temporal. For when the Apostles say: 'Behold here are two swords' (Luke, XXII, 38) that is to say, in the Church, since the Apostles were speaking, the Lord did not reply that there were too many, but sufficient. Certainly the one who denies that the temporal sword is in the power of Peter has not listened well to the word of the Lord commanding: Put up thy sword into the scabbard (Matt. XXVI, 52). Both, therefore, are in the power of the Church, that is to say, the spiritual and the material sword, but the former is to be administered *for* the Church but the latter *by* the Church; the former by the hands of the priest; the latter by the hands of the kings and of soldiers, but at the will and sufferance of the priest.

Oportet autem gladium esse sub gladio; et temporalem auctoritatem spirituali subjeci potestati. Nam cum

However, one sword ought to be subordinated to the other and temporal authority subjected to spiritual power.

dicat Apostolus: Non est potestas nisi a Deo; quae autem sunt, a deo ordinatae sunt; non autem ordinatae essent, nisi gladius esset sub gladio et tanquam inferior reduceretur per alium in suprema.

Nam secundum B. Dionysium, lex divinitatis est infima per meida in suprema reduci. Non ergo secundum ordinem universi omnia aequae et immediate, sed infima per media et inferiora per superiora ad ardinem reducuntur. Spiritualem autem et dignitatem et nobilitatem terrenam quamlibet praecellere potestatem oportet tanto clarius nos fateri, quanto spiritualia temporalia antecedunt. Quod etiam ex decimarum datione, et benedictione et sanctificatione, ex ipsius potestatis acceptione, ex ipsarum rerum gubernatione claris oculis intumetur. Nam veritate testante, spiritualis potestas terrenam potestatem instituere habet et judicare si bona non fuerit: sic de Ecclesia et ecclesiastica potestate verificatur vaticinium Hieremiae: Ecce constitui te hodie super gentes et regna, et caetera quae sequuntur. Ergo si deviat terrena potestas, judicabitur a potestate spirituali; sed si deviat spiritualis minor a suo superiori; si vero suprema, a solo Deo, non ab homine poterit judicari, testante Apostolo: Spiritualem homo judicat omnia, ipse autem a nemine judicatur. Est autem haec auctoritas (etsi data sit homini et exercentur per hominem) non humana, sed potius divina, ore divino Petro data, sibi quae suisque successoribus in ipso quem confessus fuit petra firmata, dicente Domino ipsi Petro: Quodcumque ligaveris, etc. Quicumque igitur huic potestati a Deo sic ordi-

For since the Apostle said: 'There is no power except from God and the things that are, are ordained of God' (Rom. XIII, 1-2), but they would not be ordained if one sword were not subordinated to the other and if the inferior one, as it were, were not led upwards by the other.

For, according to the Blessed Dionysius, it is a law of the divinity that the lowest things reach the highest place by intermediaries. Then, according to the order of the universe, all things are not led back to order equally and immediately, but the lowest by the intermediary, and the inferior by the superior. Hence we must recognize the more clearly that spiritual power surpasses in dignity and in nobility any temporal power whatever, as spiritual things surpass the temporal. This we see very clearly also by the payment, benediction, and consecration of the tithes, by the acceptance of power itself and by the government even of things. For with truth as our witness, it belongs to spiritual power to establish the terrestrial power and to pass judgment if it has not been good. Thus is accomplished the prophecy of Jeremias concerning the Church and the ecclesiastical power: 'Behold to-day I have placed you over nations, and over kingdoms' and the rest. Therefore, if the terrestrial power err, it will be judged by the spiritual power; but if a minor spiritual power err, it will be judged by a superior spiritual power; but if the highest power of all err, it can be judged only by God, and not by man, according to the testimony of the Apostle: 'The spiritual man judgeth of all things and he himself is judged by no man' (I. Cor. II, 15). This

*natae resistit, nisi duo (sicut Manichaeus) fingat esse principia, quod falsum est et haereticum judicamus: quia, testante Moyse, non in principiis sed in principio coelum Deus creavit et terram. Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanae creaturae declaramus, dicimus, et diffinimus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.*¹

authority, however, (though it has been given to man and is exercised by man), is not human but rather divine, granted to Peter by a divine word and reaffirmed to him (Peter) and his successors by the One Whom Peter confessed, the Lord saying to Peter himself, 'Whatsoever you shall bind on earth, shall be bound also in Heaven,' etc. (Matt. XVI, 19). Therefore, whoever resists this power thus ordained by God, resists the ordinance of God (Rom. XIII, 2), unless he invent like Manicheus two beginnings, which is false and judged by us heretical, since according to the testimony of Moses, it is not in the beginnings but in the beginning that God created heaven and earth (Gen. I, 1). Furthermore, we declare, we proclaim, we define that it is absolutely necessary for salvation that every human creature be subject to the Roman Pontiff."

Innocent III, "the most distinguished Mediaeval Pope," knew how to exercise most successfully in his relations with the Empire and the other States, the rights connected with the position of judge, *occasione peccati*, but Boniface VIII was the out-standing pontiff, who had the occasion, more than any other of fixing them authoritatively, this he did in the Bull *Unam sanctam*. Boniface believed himself to be the successor to all the rights exercised by Innocent III. He believed that everything which the Roman Empire then possessed in honor and prestige, in dignity and in position, it owed to the grace and favor of the Apostolic Chair from which the Roman emperors and kings received the power of the sword. He believed, too, that the papal power is placed above kings and kingdoms, and that the disposal, concerning the extent of the Empire, lies within the papal power, since the individual constituents of the Empire have come to it by the authority of the Church; for this reason then,

¹ Text, cf. MURY, *Revue des Questions Historiques*, t. XXVI, p. 104, Paris, 1879; cf. *Corpus Juris Canonici Extravagantes Communes*, lib. I, tit. VIII, "De majoritate et obedientia," cap. I, p. 1245, ed. (Friedberg II).

the Apostolic Chair is authorized to sever these constituents from the Empire and to take them back, since they are within the right and possession of the Roman Church. Moreover, if the emperor should act against the advantage of the Church, the Pope is at liberty to divest him of his dignity, as he might do in the case of any other secular prince, for he is his vassal and subject.² In the mind of the pontiff, there is not the least hesitation of his competency, nor of his exclusive right to judge between the Christian nations when the question of sin appears in the disputed matter; only reasons of prudence can suspend or defer the exercise of this right.

It is well to recall here the principles regarding Church and State, some of which have already been noted. The supernatural origin of the Church, its constitution and its hierarchy, which descends immediately from Jesus Christ differentiates it radically from the states and civil empires. The Church and State are societies, diverse in origin by nature and by law, and no human force will ever confound what God has rendered distinct. But while the Church and Empire are distinct powers, each having a distinct object and end, yet they are co-existent. This co-existence implies neither confusion nor absorption, but rather the concord and reciprocal friendship of the two.³

Though distinct in end and office, yet it does not follow that Church and State exist as strangers. For such a condition would weaken and enfeeble both the one and the other; on the contrary, there should exist between them a mutual support. For it is in the judicial existence of the two, that the peace and liberty of Christian nations reside. In case of conflict between the laws, i. e., if human law comes to oppose conscience and God, then the inferior law cedes to the superior, for all law coming from God destroys itself in turning against God. He, therefore, who would formulate the theory that the State alone has the right to command, formulates tyranny in its highest expression and pronounces his own condemnation.

As noted in the previous chapter, Philip the Fair struck by the Bulls of Boniface VIII sought to defend himself by spread-

² Cf. HAUCK, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, vol. V, I. Heft, p. 463, Leipzig, 1887-1902.

³ Cf. AUDISIO, *Droit public de L'Eglise*, vol. I, pp. 306 ff.

ing false Bulls and thus exciting French nationalism in representing the Pope as a person occupied with the purely temporal affairs of France. The Roman Pontificate was in the painful condition of possessing doctrinal truth and teaching it, without being able to give it the necessary strength and the practical value to break the source of fraud and the obstacle of force.⁴ Philip the Fair's object was to inaugurate a purely political policy to the total disregard of papal control even *ratione peccati*. But now Boniface VIII enunciated his final word against the policy of Philip in the Bull *Unam sanctam*.⁵

The Bull *Unam sanctam*, so called from its opening words, is an expository document on the relation between Church and State, between the spiritual power and the temporal power, its line of argument being based on the words of Jeremias: "Behold I have set thee over kingdoms and empires." In content "it differentiates between the fundamental principles concerning the Roman primacy and the declarations as to the application of those to the secular power and its representatives." In this Bull, Boniface designedly gives expression to the teachings of theologians such as St. Bernard, Hugo of St. Victor, Alexander of Hales, the great Franciscan doctor, and St. Thomas Aquinas, one of the greatest authorities on the relations between Church and State, of which this Bull, as well as the other Bulls of Boniface, treats in particular.⁶ In the history of the struggle between Boniface VIII, and Philip the Fair, the Bull *Unam sanctam* has played an important rôle in view of the repeated attempts made by the adversaries of the papacy, to weaken and even deny the authority of the Holy See; it is necessary, therefore, for the correct understanding of its importance and influ-

4 Cf. GEMELLI Art. "La Doctrine et L'Unité Sociale au Moyen Age," *Revue de Philosophie*, pp. 15 ff.

5 Cf. *Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, vol. III, pp. 888 ff; cf. *Corpus juris canonici*, *Extravag. Commun.*, lib. 1, tit. VIII, (Friedberg II), pp. 1245; cf. DUPUY, *Preuves du Différend*, pp. 54 ff; cf. BARONIUS-RAYNALDI *Annal. eccles.*, ad. ann. 1302, no. 13. The original of the Bull is not in existence but the oldest text is found in the *Registers of Boniface VIII*. Cf. DAMBERGER, *Geschichte der Kirche und der Welt in Mittelalter*, XII, Ratisbon, 1851; cf. Mury, "La Bulle Unam Sanctam," *Revue des Questions Historiques*, 1879, vol. XXVI, pp. 91-130, Paris, 1879. Both have maintained the non-authenticity of the Bull; but the latter has made a retraction; cf. *Revue des Questions Historiques*, 1889, vol. XLVI, pp. 253-257, since he himself has found the Bull in the *Registers of Boniface VIII*.

6 Cf. ALZOG, *Universal Church History*, vol. II, p. 625.

ence to review and discuss the principles and the interpretations of this "oft-quoted and much-criticized Bull."

1. The Bull *Unam sanctam* emphasizes the unity of the Church: "Faith obliges us to confess and to believe one holy, catholic and apostolic Church, and as for us, we firmly believe and simply confess this Church outside of which there is neither salvation nor the remission of sins: *Unam sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam, et ipsam apostolicam, urgente fide credere cogimur et tenere; nosque hanc firmiter credimus, et simpliciter confitemur, extra quam nec salus est, nec remissio peccatorum.*"

2. This Church has only one body and one head, not two like a monster. *Igitur Ecclesiae unius et unicae unum corpus, unum caput, non duo capita, quasi monstrum.* Jesus Christ is this Head, represented by His Vicar, the successor of St. Peter; those then who claim that they are not to be in submission to the successor of St. Peter must confess that they do not form a part of the flock of Jesus Christ; *fateantur necesse est de ovibus Christi non esse.*⁷

3. After having explained by means of comparisons drawn from the Bible, that the Church is one and can have only one head, Boniface used the famous metaphor of the two swords which St. Bernard seems to have borrowed from Geoffrey of Vendôme (1115) and which he rendered popular in a passage of his work, *De Consideratione*.⁸ This doctrine regarding the two swords is called in modern legal history the Papal Sword Theory and is by no means original with Boniface as some would assert. It had been utilized since the period of Gregory VII. Mediaeval linguistic usages has identified our modern word "power" with the word "sword" whereby the terms, spiritual and temporal sword, *gladius spiritualis et temporalis* were used

7 Cf. AUDISIO, *Droit public de L'Eglise*, vol. II, p. 238.

8 Cf. ST. BERNARD, *De Consideratione*, Book IV, cap. III, p. 379. *Aggredere eos (Romanos contumaces) sed verbo non ferro. Quid te denuo usurpare gladium tentes, quem semel iussus es ponere in vaginam? Quem tamen qui tuum negat, non satis mihi videtur attendere verbum Domini dicentis sic: Convertite gladium tuum in vaginam. Tuus ergo et ipse, tuo forsitan nutu, etsi non tua manu evaginandus. Alioquin si nullo modo ad te pertineret et is, dicentibus apostolis: Ecce gladii duo hic, non respondisset Dominus; Satis est; satis est, sed nimis est. Uterque ergo Ecclesiae, et spiritualis scilicet gladius et materialis, sed quidem pro Ecclesia ille vero et ab Ecclesia exercendus; ille sacerdotis, is militis manu, sed sane ad nutum sacerdotis et iussum imperatoris, et de hoc alias egimus.*

with reference to the ecclesiastical power and the secular power respectively. Furthermore, this teaching regarding the two powers had been professed even at Paris by Alexander of Hales and St. Thomas Aquinas, hence Philip the Fair and those theologians who taxed it as a novelty only proved their ignorance or insincerity in this matter.

The Bull states that under the control of the Church there are two swords, i. e., two powers, the spiritual and the temporal. These swords are both in the hands of the Church, the first is to be drawn by the Church itself through the hand of the pontiff, the second by the hand of the kings and soldiers but under the direction of the priest: *ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis. Uterque ergo est in potestate Ecclesiae: spiritualis scilicet gladius, et materialis. Sed is quidem pro Ecclesia, ille vero ab Ecclesia exercendus. Ille sacerdotis, is manu regum et militum, sed ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis.* This is what scandalized the Gallicans. But it is certain that the sword of the Catholic prince should allow itself to be directed by the law of Christianity. The material sword and the spiritual sword are then in the hands of the Church and the usage of the material sword on the part of the State, to be moral, constitutes a moral problem and no moral problem can escape the control of the Church *judex de peccato*. Naturally then, all that constitutes a moral problem must be officially submitted to the Church and it is not necessary even that the Church always intervene; but the Church has the faculty of intervention according to opportune and prudent reasons. Boniface VIII, in defending these ideas against Philip the Fair at the same time protected the rights and performed the duties of the Holy See, for the Church alone has the right of intervention in public affairs, since she is the sovereign judge of moral life, which trust has been confided to her by our Divine Redeemer. The opposition of Philip the Fair attacked the integrity of Christianity and prepared the way for an absolute monarchy.⁹

4. These two powers, being distinct by the sphere in which they move, by the office which they have to fulfill, and by the end towards which they tend, must be subordinated one to the

⁹ Cf. GEMELLI, Art. "La Doctrine et L'Unité Sociale au Moyen Age," *Revue de Philosophie*, p. 18.

other, that is to say, the temporal power must submit to the spiritual: *Oportet autem gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem auctoritatem spirituali subjici potestati*. Since according to the words of the Apostle Paul: "There is no power but from God and those powers that are, are ordained of God." Now they will be well ordained, if one of the two swords submit to the other, and, as an inferior, is led to the execution of the sovereign will because in virtue of the laws of the universe, all things are subordinated one to the other and reduced to order by a continual gradation. But since the spiritual power surpasses in nobility and dignity all temporal power, then it is clear and certain that spiritual things are above temporal things: from whence it follows, that the temporal power, inferior in its end, is subordinated to the spiritual power, superior in its end, as the body is subject to the soul. *Nam cum dicat Apostolus: Non est potestas nisi a Deo; quae autem sunt, a Deo ordinatae sunt; non autem ordinatae essent, nisi gladius esset sub gladio, et tanquam inferior reduceretur per alium in superiorem. Nam secundum beatum Dionysium, lex Divinitatis est infima per media in suprema reduci. Non ergo, secundum ordinem universi omnia aequae ac immediate, sed infima per media, et inferiora per superiora, ad ordinem reducuntur. Spiritualem autem, et dignitate et nobilitate terrenam quamlibet praecellere potestatem oportet tanto clarius nos fateri, quanto spiritualia temporalia antecedunt*. Such is the sublime hierarchy of kings and consequently of powers; all are coördinated in this life and this unity ends in God. But the fundamental and obvious point of this theory is that the celestial spheres and all the different beings in their subordination and their harmony are co-existent, yet each retains, nevertheless, its own life and movement, thus it is with the Church and State.

5. In the assemblage of Christian nations, the supreme judgment, in point of ethics, resides in the Church and in a more concrete manner in the Holy See, not that the supreme ecclesiastical authority can dispose of the State at pleasure, but if the State be devoid of the ethical, then the Church can render its life and its acts null and void.¹⁰ The words of Christ to Peter give the

¹⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 16 ff.

fundamental reason for these laws: "Whatsoever thou shall bind upon earth, shall be bound also in Heaven." Boniface VIII himself, stressed this doctrine when he wrote the famous words: *Nam veritate testante, spiritualis potestas terrenam potestatem instituere habet et judicare si bona non fuerit.* This clause is of capital importance. It seems to have been borrowed by Boniface VIII from Hugh of St. Victor¹¹ or from Alexander of Hales.¹² The latter repeats it thus: *Quanto vita spiritualis dignior est quam terrena et spiritus quam corpus, tanto spiritualis potestas terrenam sive saecularem honore ac dignitate praecedat. Nam spiritualis potestas terrenam potestatem et instituere habet Ut Sit, et judicare habet si bona non fuerit.* It is probable that the above phrase of the Bull *Unam sanctam* depends on this phrase. The word *instituere* has been variously translated but the context of the Bull seems to indicate that Boniface intended the word in the sense of *to instruct, to direct.* The spiritual power, however, does not limit itself to instruction but under certain conditions it claims the right to suspend or even to dispossess the temporal power, all this of course being understood in the sense in which it has been previously mentioned, i. e., always retaining the idea that the intervention of the Church is determined by its relations with public affairs *occasione peccati.*

In reviewing Berchtold's work "Die Bulle Unam Sanctam," Grauert,¹³ says: "Considered *in se*, those sentences of the Bull referring to the papal power or jurisdiction could be interpreted in the sense of a general *potestas directa* of the Church and respectively of the papacy over a purely secular domain. The development, through which the doctrine of the relationship between the ecclesiastical power and the secular power has passed, scarcely leaves undoubted the fact, that during the Middle Ages the Popes have claimed only a jurisdiction over temporal affairs *ratione peccati*, a *potestas indirecta in temporalia regum* to use the expression which has become common since the time of Bellarmine.

11 *De Sacramentis*, in MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina*, CLXXVI, lib. II, pars. II, *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, cap. IV, col. 418, Paris, 1854.

12 Cf. *Summa Theologiae*, IV, q. X, m. V, a 2, quoted by HEFELE-LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Conciles*, t. VI, p. 429.

13 Cf. GRAUERT, "Berchtold, Die Bulle Unam Sanctum," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, Band IX, 1 Heft, p. 138 ff., Munich, 1888.

As early as the fifth century, Pope Gelasius I (492-496) defends a certain superiority of the spiritual power over the secular. In 494 he writes to the Eastern Emperor Anastasius: *Duo quippe sunt, imperator auguste, quibus principaliter mundus hic regitur: auctoritas sacrata pontificum et regalis potestas. In quibus tanto gravius est pondus sacerdotum, quanto etiam pro ipsis regibus hominum in divino reddituri sunt examine rationem*, thereby admitting for the pontiffs a responsibility in the last judgment for the action of the kings; so in this manner, he naturally concedes to the spiritual power also a certain jurisdiction over the temporal rulers which cannot pertain solely to purely spiritual things. Likewise in Tract IV (*De anathematis vinculo*) he formulated in a distinct and definite manner, the separation of the two powers, i. e., of the spiritual and the temporal. In this tract, he says:—*Sed quum ad verum ventum est (scil. Christum) eundum regem atque pontificem, ultra sibi nec imperator pontificis nomen imposuit, nec pontifex regale fastigium vindicavit . . . quoniam Christus . . . sic actionibus propriis dignitatibusque distinctis officia potestatis utirusque discrevit, . . . ut et Christiani imperatores pro aeterna vita pontificibus indigerent et pontifices pro temporalium cursu rerum imperialibus dispositionibus uteretur; quatenus spiritalis actio a carnalibus distaret incursibus et Deo militans minime se negotiis saecularibus implicaret ac vicissim non ille rebus divinis praesidere videre trine to the Emperor Lo and Pope St. Nicholas I (858-867) used *utriusque ordinis curaretur, ne extolleretur utroque suffultus*.*

Both pronouncements were later frequently repeated by the Popes and by the councils. Indeed the Popes of the eighth and ninth centuries emphasized the separation of the two powers; Pope St. Gregory II (715-731) eloquently expressed this doctrine to the Emperor Lo and Pope St. Nicholas I (858-867) used the exact words of Gelasius in a brilliant writing to the Byzantine Emperor, Michael III. Repeatedly, the Popes have declared that they did not intend to treat the power of the state as a papal fief but merely considered themselves entitled to exercise their jurisdiction *ratione peccati* in temporal matters. Innocent III was an exponent of this doctrine, but especially did Boniface VIII stress it in his conflict with Philip the Fair of France which forms the subject matter of our present discus-

sion; the opposition which he encountered in promulgating this doctrine was largely subjective.

6. In this Bull, Boniface VIII rejects the idea that the Church and the State are both supreme and entirely independent; he terms this a Manichean Heresy, for the Manicheans have denied the doctrine of the Unity of God and have accepted two supreme world-principles. The Pope says that, he who places on an equal basis the spiritual power and the temporal power assumes, so to speak, two supreme powers and annihilates thereby the unity and individuality of the supreme ecclesiastical papal power and lapses into a Manichean Dualism. Such a dualism is absurd and offensive since the *potestas spiritualis* has the duty of guiding and directing the *potestas saecularis*. If a secular ruler were to offer resistance to ecclesiastical authority by referring to his alleged independence, he commits an injustice and deserves punishment. *Quicumque igitur huic potestati a Deo sic ordinatae resistit, nisi duo, (sicut Manichaeus) fingat esse principia, quod falsum est et haereticum, judicamus, quia, testante Moyse, non in principiis, sed in principio coelum Deus creavit et terram.* Boniface presupposes in his Constitution only the Catholic Church united under the visible Head, the Pope; nothing was farther from him than to admit besides this Church a plurality of other Churches or beliefs; he could not be satisfied with an abstraction of the Christian fundamental dogmas. It is true that the error of the Manicheans, stating that there are two principles, one bad and one good, is called heretical by the Pope in this Bull; but this is said *obiter et incidenter* and is no dogmatic decision, which indeed was unnecessary, since the Manichean error had been condemned long before.

7. The final sentence of the Bull *Unam sanctam*, which has given rise to unending comment and contention, is the most important and momentous statement of the entire Bull. It reads thus: *Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanae creaturae declaramus, decimus, et diffinimus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.* Indeed the dogmatic character of the Bull *Unam sanctam* has become the subject of the most violent and vehement discussion among leading theologians, both Catholic and Protestant, hence it is well to consider the views of some theologians on this point. The Protestant Berchtold and some others main-

tain that the entire Bull is dogmatic in character, and tantamount to a definition, but this view is generally rejected as false. In dogmatic decisions of the Pope, it is necessary to distinguish between the definition of the dogma and the reasons and explanations added to it. Infallibility can only belong to the actual definition. The intention of binding all the faithful in virtue of the office of supreme teacher must be expressly stated. The Pope takes great care that the *doctrina tenenda* be clearly expressed for every one. Non-Catholics only too frequently cite, quite arbitrarily, sentences from papal letters and even Briefs, and use them as final definitions, whereas no definition was ever intended by the ecclesiastical authority under the circumstances.

Grauert claims that he cannot subscribe to the assertion of Berchtold, when he claims for the entire wording of the Bull *Unam sanctam* the character of a dogmatic definition. He, in conjunction with eminent theologians and canonists, considers the Bull as a constitution, issued *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, in which constitution the purely juristic element, the legislative act, subject to change is to be distinguished from the dogmatic definition. An undoubtedly official, solemn juristic deduction and argumentation is followed by a concluding sentence which alone is raised to the dignity of a dogmatic decision.

The accumulation of the verbs pronouncing the intention of definition: *declaramus, dicimus, diffinimus* distinguishes this very concluding sentence in a very marked manner from the preceding deducting text. In this last sentence, the Pope develops entirely in the sense of the canonistic doctrine of his time, the super-ordination of the ecclesiastical power over the temporal power and indeed he uses here expressions which considered *in se* could well be interpreted in the sense of a *potestas directa in temporalia regum* which, however, in view of other pronouncements of the Pope may only be interpreted in the sense of a *potestas indirecta*. A dogmatic character, however, cannot be ascribed to the preceding deduction. The words: *omni humanae creaturae* of the last sentence of this Bull, have been much disputed as to their literal sense, but the generally accepted translation of the concluding sentence declares that all creatures, meaning the faithful, who hope for salvation must submit to the Roman Pope. This dogmatic concluding sentence

does not state what kind of subordination this must be, but according to the opinion of the Pope, it concerns the individual who by Baptism enters into the communion of the Church.¹⁴

Philip had a refutation of the Bull prepared by the Dominican, John of Paris in his *Tractatus de potestate regia et papali*. Later Clement V, urged by the King of France, declared in the Brief *Meruit* (February 1, 1306) that the Bull *Unam sanctam* did not bear any prejudice to the King of France, to his kingdom or to his subjects (*nullum volumus, vel intendimus praejudicium generari*) and that their submission was not altered by the promulgation of the Bull. In this way Clement V gave France and its ruler "a guarantee of security from the ecclesiastical-political results elaborated in the Bull." The Brief *Meruit* did not repeal the Bull *Unam sanctam* nor impair its dogmatic decision as some have inferred; it was simply intended to give satisfaction to the King of France. It substituted for the disputed words *omni humanae creaturae*, the words *omnes Christi fidelis*. The Clementine Brief *Meruit* is not of course an *ex-cathedra* pronouncement. Leo X confirmed the Bull *Unam sanctam* at the Ecumenical Council of the Lateran (1516) *sine praejudicio declarationi Meruit*. This Council also stated that only the concluding sentence of the Bull on the necessity of giving due obedience to the Pope, could be considered as a dogmatic decision and to this sentence alone does the Council refer.

After the publication of the Bull *Unam sanctam*, the shadow of Boniface fell like a spectre on France. The French people hated his person but they feared his authority. Believing that their national independence was threatened by him, their anger was inflamed to such a degree that they styled him an enemy of the French name, *nominis Gallici hostis*. The Gallicans in their opposition to the Holy See and the enemies of papal infallibility have, in maintaining their contention, used this Bull against Boniface VIII, but its content far from justifies this usage. The King of France himself, being powerless to discuss the Bull, answered it later by the violence at Anagni.

14 Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

THE ULTIMATUM OF CARDINAL JOHN LEMOINE.

The conflict presently passed "from the domain of principle to a direct attack on the person on Boniface." Philip sent the Count of St. Pol and Monsignor Mouche to Boniface announcing that he no longer recognized him as arbiter in his dispute with England; perhaps he already meditated violence for it was in the castle of Staggia which had been given by the King of the Romans to a brother of Mouche that the expedition directed against Boniface at Anagni was organized.¹⁵ Boniface himself sincerely desired peace, and did not despair of leading Philip by reason to a better course, therefore, shortly after the publication of the Bull, *Unam sanctam*, he sent John Lemoine, Cardinal of the title of Saints Marcellinus and Peter, accompanied by Charles of Valois and the Bishop of Auxerre, to France to negotiate with Philip. Lemoine was a personal friend of the king and was noted for his deference and discretion; hence he was eminently fitted to deal with this prince who had treated a former ambassador with contempt and cruelty. He was empowered by the Pope to release the king (if he desired it) from traditional excommunication which he had incurred *ipso facto* by having hindered the French prelates from going to Rome.

Cardinal Lemoine, though charged with a mission of peace, was also directed to insist on the rights of the papacy and was ordered to present twelve grievances to the king; if he obtained satisfaction on these points, peace would ensue, but if the king failed to make amends, the envoy was to tell him that the Holy See would proceed against him both spiritually and temporally. According to Hefele Leclercq,¹⁶ the ultimatum presented by Cardinal Lemoine contained the following conditions of peace:—

1. The king shall recall his prohibition, direct or indirect, against the French prelates and doctors going to Rome to attend the synod convened by the Pope, all confiscations of their property made in this regard shall be annulled.

2. The supreme right of the Pope in the collation of ecclesiastical benefices within or without the Roman Curia must be rec-

15 Cf. BOUTARIC, *La France sous Philippe le Bel*, p. 107.

16 Cf. HEFELE-LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Conciles*, t. VI, p. 432.

ognized, and no one can bestow a benefice without the tacit or expressed permission of the Holy See.

3. The king shall declare that the Pope can send nuncios and legates into any country without the permission of any one.

4. In spite of contrary usage and customs, the administration of ecclesiastical goods shall be in the hands of ecclesiastics and not laymen; the supreme administration and dispensation of them rest with the Apostolic See which, with a certain necessary consent, can dispose of them and impose taxes on them.

5. The king and other princes are forbidden to seize ecclesiastical goods and rights except those conceded by right or granted by the Holy See; the king is forbidden to summon before his own tribunal ecclesiastical persons by reason of property or rights, when they are not held in fief.

6. Since King Philip did not prevent the burning (in his presence, and in that of a number of officials), of a Bull and a letter ornamented with the seal of the Apostles Peter and Paul, he must send to the Pope a procurator with sufficient power to prove his innocence or accept a penance.

7. The king must not abuse the rights of regalia which he has for the protection of vacant cathedrals, also he must not cut down the forests, and he must keep the surplus revenue of a vacant see for the future bishop.

8. The king shall restore to the prelates and especially to the monasteries, over which he has the right of custody, the use of the spiritual sword and free jurisdiction, no matter what privileges have been granted to the king and his ministers.

9. The king, having twice falsified the coinage of the realm to the prejudice of the churches, of the clergy and of the laity, will be obliged to make restitution and amends.

10. The king shall give satisfaction for other abuses indicated in the letter of which James de Normans has been the bearer.

11. The city of Lyons does not belong to France; it is not the king but the Archbishop who is the lord of it; the offenses of-

ferred to the Archbishop, the clerics and their vassals must be repaired.

12. If within the time agreed upon by his brother Charles and his ambassadors, the king does not amend regarding the points specified, the Pope shall proceed *spiritualiter et temporaliter*.¹⁷

Philip the Fair hesitated. His administration had been somewhat disabled since the death of his chancellor, Peter Flotte, in July, 1302, until William de Nogaret, in February, 1303, became his intimate counsellor. In December, 1302, he again ordered the prelates and the barons to meet in February, 1303, in order that he might consult them concerning the preservation and independence of the kingdom. It was about this time that Cardinal Lemoine, escorted by the Bishop of Auxerre and Charles of Valois arrived at Paris and produced the papal ultimatum.

With his usual dexterity and dissimulation, the king soon addressed a reply to these twelve articles to prove that he was in the right in all these points. His replies ran thus:—

1. It was neither from a lack of respect for the Church nor for the clergy that he had forbidden the prelates to go to Rome, but he did it on account of the revolutions in Flanders, and in order to remedy the conspiracies which had arisen in his kingdom.

2. Regarding the collation of benefices, he made use only of the rights which Louis IX and his predecessors had employed before him.

3. He granted a free entry to papal nuncios and legates so long as they were not "suspects" and there were no other just reasons for preventing them.

4. As to the administration of goods and revenues of the Church, he abided by the usual rights and customs.

5. He cited the clergy before the secular tribunals only in lawful cases and in instances in which his predecessors had acted in a like manner.

¹⁷ Cf. DUPUY, *Preuves du différend*, p. 89; cf. BARONIUS-RAYNALDI, *Annal. eccles.* ad ann. 1303, no. 34.

6. A Bull had been burned at Laon by order of the aldermen of the city, in order that this Bull might not be used against them. (Philip seemed to have misunderstood the reference of the Pope regarding the burning of the Bull *Ausculda fili*, for his reply relates to a Bull concerning the city of Laon.)

7. With respect to the exercise of the right of regalia, he followed the example of Louis IX and his predecessors. When his people had gone too far, he had punished them.

8. He promised not to prevent the clergy from exercising their jurisdiction according to right and custom.

9. He had falsified the coinage of the realm only for the defence of his kingdom and at the request of his subjects; he had already taken measures to make satisfaction.

10. If his people have committed any injustice, it will be repaired.

11. The king deplores the vexations endured by the Church of Lyons, but if the Archbishop had suffered in any way, it was his own fault, because he refused to swear fidelity to the king, still the latter was about to negotiate with him concerning the disputed rights, in order that every one may know, that he, content within the limits of his own power, respects those of the Church.

12. The king sincerely desires to preserve the union between his kingdom and the Roman See, but the Pope, also should consider it and permit no encroachments. If the Pope be not satisfied with these replies, he would be willing to abide by the decisions of the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, who had been proposed as arbiters by the Pope himself (August, 1302).¹⁸

Although the Gallicans have praised the moderation of the reply of Philip, yet it contains "as little sincerity as condescension." Boniface examined it and discussed the answers in the presence of distinguished legates and jurists only to find that Philip had shifted his responsibility and had been lacking in honesty. Some of his replies were vague, evasive and elastic;

18 Cf. DUPUY, *Preuves du différend, Actes et preuves*, p. 89 ff; cf. HEFELE-LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Conciles*, t. VI, pp. 434, ff; cf. DRUMANN, *Geschichte Bonifacius VIII*, part II, pp. 64 ff.

and embarrassing questions had been purposely eluded by him. On April 13, 1303, the Pope sent letters to John Lemoine, Charles of Valois and the Bishop of Auxerre, stating that the King's replies were obscure, derisive, filled with reservations and contrary to truth and justice. He urged Cardinal Lemoine to ask the king to clarify them. In order to manifest the purity of his intention, he decided to have recourse to the Dukes of Brittany and Burgundy as arbiters, according as his own honor and that of the Holy See would permit. The letters of April 13, written by Boniface to the above-mentioned dukes were borne into France by Nicholas Benefratte, the Archdeacon of Constance; Boniface also wrote another letter to the Cardinal-legate, John Lemoine, ordering him to show Philip the gravity of the situation and to tell him that if he did not modify his reply the Pope would proceed against him *spiritualiter et temporaliter*.¹⁹ Nicholas Benefratte also bore two other Bulls, one decreed against all those who had hindered the clergy from going to Rome and another convoking all the French prelates to Rome within three months.²⁰

Philip dreamed not of a reconciliation with Boniface, but rather of a tragic solution of these difficulties, for the documents borne by Nicholas Benefratte were not even published when Paris had decided upon the downfall of the Pope. Already the Colonna, the sworn enemies of Boniface, had placed at the king's disposal their profound knowledge of Italian intrigues. The king with Nogaret and his confidants had formed an unparalleled project, i. e., to surprise Boniface, to oblige him to abdicate and if he refused to do so to lead him to Lyons there to be judged by a council, which would declare him a heretic, a simoniac and therefore a false Pope. The astonishing audacity of this plan is only surpassed by the boldness of the execution of it. Nogaret was the intriguer who was chosen to bring it to completion. His legal hatred of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, his love for an absolute monarchy, the old blood of the Paterini which course in his

19 Cf. *Preuves du différend*, p. 95; cf. BARONIUS-RAYNALDI, *Annal eccles.* ad ann. 1303, no. 34.

20 Cf. DUPUY, *Ibid.*, pp. 98 ff; cf. DRUMANN, *Geschichte Bonifacius VIII*, part II, pp. 72 ff.

veins made him accept a commission, the very idea of which his predecessors in office would hardly have dared to conceive.

The execution of the plan was begun in February, 1303, when Mouchet qualified as *Miles* like Nogaret with Thierri d'Hiricon, and James de Gesserin, qualified as *Magistri* were given as companions to Nogaret. The first of these personages was well known, he was a Florentine whose real name was Musciatto; in French documents he is called "Monsignor Mouche" or "Mouchet." He was a member of the great school of Florentine bankers, political agents of the French administration. In October, 1302, Philip had already charged Mouchet with an important mission to Rome. The patent letters which conferred on Nogaret, Mouchet, d'Hiricon and Gesserin the unheard-of mission of seizing Boniface and of forcing him to appear before a tribunal which was to judge him are dated March 7, 1303. Without opposition Nogaret had just placed his project regarding the defamation of Boniface before the court of France. The powers which were attributed to the commissioners were designedly couched by the king in vague terms; thus he declared that he sent them *ad certas partibus pro quibusdam nostris negotiis*. Each and all of them were invested with the right "to treat in the name of the king with every noble person, ecclesiastic or layman, for every league or pact of mutual assistance, in men or in money, which they judge pertinent."²¹ It is not at all uncertain that the king knew from that moment, what these commissioners were going to do and what means they were going to employ to accomplish their purpose. The plan of campaign conceived and the commissioners named, they proceeded to legal forms.

THE ASSEMBLIES AT THE LOUVRE

Five days later on March 12, 1303, Philip held an assembly at the Louvre. Present at it were the Archbishops of Nicosia in Cyprus, Sens, Rheims, Tours, Narbonne; twenty-one bishops, among whom were the Bishops of Meaux, Nevers and Auxerre, the Counts of Valois and Evreux, the Duke of Burgundy, John of Chalons, John of Dampierre, the constable of France, and several other Lords, together with the king and

21 Cf. LANGLOIS-LAVISSE, *Histoire de France*, t. III, part II, p. 156.

William de Nogaret, the venerable professor of law. Eleven abbots were also present, among whom were those of Cluny, Premontr  and Citeaux. This was not an assembly of the States General, as some have erroneously believed, but rather a meeting of the nobles and the clergy for Philip knew that if he had their concurrence, he could easily claim that of the third estate. The normal and ordinary purpose of such a council would be to take measures for the safety of the kingdom, to obtain money or to submit matters for deliberation, but its present purpose was to judge Boniface, to wrest from his hands the holy keys, for "he was in contempt of all laws since he had dishonored the Holy See by his crimes." The acts of this assembly were decided in advance; it only remained to falsely justify the accusations against Boniface.

After the assembly had been constituted, William de Nogaret, qualified, *Miles et legum professor venerabilis* advanced and read a petition, a copy of which he placed in the king's hands. As soon as he spoke, his audience recognized him as the author of the Memoir against de Saisset. It began, according to custom, with a text from Holy Scripture, and Nogaret designedly borrowed his text from the Epistle of St. Peter. He spoke thus: "The prince of the Apostles, has written: *Fuerunt pseudo prophetae in populo, sicut et in vobis erunt magistri mendaces*. This prophecy is accomplished because we see a master of falsehood, a malefactor and a manifest heretic named Boniface seated in the chair of St. Peter. He calls himself master, judge and lord of all men, but he has usurped his place, because the Roman Church was legitimately united to Celestine when he committed the sin of adultery with her. And I, who am only a donkey, I shall denounce Balaam, this false prophet, and I shall request you, very excellent Prince, Lord Philip, by the grace of God, King of France, to flash before his eyes the light of your sword, as did the angel whom Balaam met on his way. I claim that the individual in question, surnamed Boniface, is not a Pope, he did not enter by the gate, *non intravit per ostium*, he is a thief. I claim that the said Boniface is a horrible simoniac, such as never has been since the beginning of the world, and that he has blasphemed in saying that he could not commit simony, even if he would. I claim also that the said Boniface has committed mani-

fest and enormous crimes infinite in numbers, and that he is incorrigible; he ruins the churches; he dissipates the estates of the poor; he scorns the humble; he has a greed for gold, and he extorts it from everybody; he hates peace; he loves only himself. Oh, it is the abomination of the Temple that Daniel the prophet of the Lord has described! The laws, the arms and the very elements themselves ought to rise up against him. It belongs to a general council to judge and condemn him. I request you then, Sire King, to procure the convocation of such a council in which I promise to personally sustain the present accusations, after which the venerable cardinals can provide the Church with a pastor." Nogaret then proposed to imprison the Pope provisionally, and requested that the king and the cardinals establish a Vicar for the Roman Church in order to remove all occasions of schism until the election of the new Pope. And, "Sire," he continued: "You are held to this for several reasons, for the maintenance of the faith, on account of your royal dignity which imposes on you the duty of exterminating the plague stricken; because of your oath of consecration; because you have sworn to defend the church of this kingdom which a devouring wolf (*lupus rapax*) devastates; because of respect for your ancestors who would never have suffered the Roman Church to be dishonored by so shameful a concubinage."²² The accusations were received. Could a king whom the sainted Louis had held on his knees, sincerely believe that he was only following the principles of his ancestors in constituting himself as "judge of Catholicity" and comporting himself as "defender of the Church of God?"²³ During the meeting, an authentic statement of this requisition of Nogaret was drawn up by two Apostolic notaries.

Nogaret and his companions undoubtedly left Paris shortly after the Assembly of March 12. An act of this same month, dated at Paris, shows that their services were paid in advance. Meanwhile Nicholas Benefratte, who bore to Cardinal Lemoine the threats of the Pope regarding Philip, was arrested at Troyes by order of the king, despoiled of the papal letters and cast into prison. This act was the final stroke between the pontiff and

²² Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 157 ff.

²³ Cf. RENAN, Art. "Guillaume de Nogaret," *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXVII, t. p. 245.

the prince. Cardinal Lemoine, hearing of the dire and dreadful fate of Benefratte, desired to protest against it, but knowing the procedure to be futile, he fled from France. It is said that Philip perused the papal letters stolen from Benefratte and read his own condemnation. Benefratte vainly protested against his persecutors, and finally judged it prudent to ask for his passports. When he returned to Rome in the month of June, the king's friends were in Italy.

Boniface issued a Bull (May 31, 1303) urging the inhabitants of Lyons, Besançon, Aix, Arles, Burgundy, Lorraine, Vienna, Dauphiny and Provence, that is to say, those provinces which formed a part of the German Empire, to break the chains of vassalage and obedience which they had accepted to the detriment of the Empire. This blow was directed against Philip the Fair, who retaliated by forming at once a defensive alliance with Wenceslaus of Bohemia, who was the declared adversary of the Pope and of Albert of Hungary; but the court of France did not stop at this; it was preparing an unforeseen stroke which was being planned and plotted in the dark.

In compliance with the request of Du Plessis, Philip convoked a council of the prelates and peers on June 13 and 14, at the Louvre in Paris, at which an astonishing spectacle took place. On the thirteenth, the Counts of Evreux, Dreux and St. Pol and William du Plessis, a knight (the latter was the very right arm of Nogaret), "moved by the perils which Boniface caused to the Church" renewed against him before the notables of the kingdom, both lay and ecclesiastic, who were assembled in the king's presence, the requisition of the month of March, 1303 (of which Nogaret was the author), and also the appeal to a future general council. William du Plessis now had recourse to a satanic ruse. He who was the accuser of Boniface in this assembly composed a requisition ingeniously arranged and developed with consummate sophistry. In content, it consisted of twenty-nine articles, and it is considered as one of the most violent that has ever been drafted against a Pope; the material of it was supplied by the Colonna. With his hand upon the Bible, swearing to advance only the truth, Du Plessis declared himself ready to prove all his accusations as to time and place, whereupon he asked the king "the protector of the Faith and of the Church," to work for

the convocation of a general council. He had as his agents to prove the accusations, Louis, Count of Evreux, brother of the King, Guy, Count of St. Pol, and John, Count of Dreux.

Regarding a general council, William consulted the prelates who were present, they in turn asked for time for reflection. The next day, another meeting took place at which William read the twenty-nine specific charges against Boniface already mentioned. Hefele-Leclercq,²⁴ cites these accusations as follows:

1. He (Boniface) does not believe in the immortality of the soul; that is why he is an Epicurean.

2. He does not believe in a future life, he does not regard it as a sin to procure all kinds of enjoyment for the body, and he is not ashamed to declare that he would rather be a dog or an ass than a Frenchman.

3. He would not evidently use this language if he believed that the French have souls destined for eternal life.

4. He does not believe in the Transubstantiation of the Sacred Host to which he does not render due reverence; at the moment of the Elevation he does not raise his eyes; he ornaments his See more than the altar.

5. On account of this, he is publicly defamed.

6. He would say that fornication is no more a sin than to touch one's hands, this is the general current rumor.

7. He has often repeated that he would lose the entire world and the Church in order to humiliate France.

8. He has approved an incontestably heretical work of Arnould de Villeneuve, which was condemned by the Bishop and the Faculty of the University of Paris; and this work thus far has not been corrected in any way.

9. In order to perpetuate the accursed memory of himself, he has placed in the Churches silver images of his person, thus urging the people to idolatry.

10. He has a personal demon whose counsels he blindly follows: he said at one time that the entire world could not deceive

24 Cf. HEFELE-LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Conciles*, t. VI, pp. 437 ff.

him, and that could not evidently happen without the coöperation of the demon.

11. He consults sorcerers and witches.

12. He has declared publicly that the Pope cannot commit simony; this is an heretical proposition; he sells offices, absolutions and dispensations as one would sell merchandise.

13. He is an obstacle to peace among Christians, he has declared that those who would wish to conclude peace should have no place upon this earth; although the Son of God descended upon the earth and counselled it.

14. He treats all the French as *Paterini*.

15. In truth he is a sodomite.

16. He has caused several of the clergy to be executed in his presence and has rejoiced in their death. If the first blow of his servants did not cause death, he cried: "Strike! Strike!"

17. He has not allowed a noble who is in prison to receive the Sacrament of Penance; he does not regard this Sacrament as necessary. (This complaint sounds strange in the mouth of a Frenchman, because at this period, it frequently happened in France that a condemned person was not permitted to go to confession before execution.)

18. He has obliged the clergy to divulge the secrets of confession.

19. He has eaten meat on the days of abstinence and has authorized the people to do the same, saying that it is no sin.

20. He has oppressed the cardinals, the White Monks and the Black Monks, the Friars Minor and the Dominicans; he has often said that they are only hypocrites and the plague of the world.

21. In hatred of the Faith, he hates also the King of France, thus he said, being as yet only a cardinal, that if he became Pope, he would ruin Christianity in its entirety in order to subdue the pride of the Gallicans.

22. He has excited the Kings of England, of Germany and of Sicily against France; he has also maintained that whoever

did not regard the French as dependent upon the jurisdiction of the Pope and the King of Germany, was anathema.

23. He is responsible for the loss of the Holy Land since he has put the funds applicable to this cause to other uses.

24. He is known as a heretic and a simoniac, having made money on everything.

25. He has dissolved several legitimate marriages; he has raised to the cardinalate his unworthy nephew, who was married, forcing the wife of the latter to make a vow of chastity; it is claimed, that afterwards he had two children by her.

26. He has treated his predecessor, Celestine, in an abominable manner, and has caused his death. He imprisoned him and let him die in a dungeon, while several great philosophers among the monks questioned Celestines' right to abdicate.

27. To the great scandal of all, he has allowed several of the regular clergy to return to the secular state.

28. He said that he would make martyrs of all the French.

29. It is evident that he does not seek the salvation of souls, but rather their loss.

William du Plessis at the same time renewed the accusations made by Nogaret on March 12: *Non recedendo ab appellatione per dictum G. de Nogareto interposita, cui ex tunc adhaesimus ac etiam adhaeremus*. He reiterated that in making his accusations against Boniface, he was not motivated by any hatred of him and said: "It is not himself but his crimes that I hate." Then he again supplicated the king, to whom belongs the defense of our Holy Mother the Church and the Catholic faith, and the prelates who are the pillars of faith to work for the convocation of a general council. This done, Philip the Fair, who, on March 12, 1303, had said nothing in favor of the convocation of a council, now expressed his approbation of the measure and adopted the same policy as the Colonna, whose counsels he followed.

It is certainly surprising that a simple horseman, like Du Plessis could, in the presence of the highest clergy of the kingdom, pronounce such an indictment against the Head of the

Church without meeting with solemn protestations from those present. Horrified, the prelates listened to the calumnies against Boniface; in conscience they could not subscribe to them, but "cowardice crowned their infidelity" and in condescension to the king and the barons, they favored the convocation of a council "to prove," as they said, "the innocence of the Pope." They made the following declarations: "We, the Archbishops of Nicosia, of Rheims, of Sens, of Narbonne, of Tours, the Bishops of Laon, Beauvais, (to the number of 21), the Abbots of Cluny, Premontr , St. Denis, St. Victor, and St. Genevieve at Paris, Brother Hugues, Visitor of the Templars, after what we have heard, look upon the convocation of a general council as useful and immediately necessary, in order that the innocence of the Pope may be demonstrated to us, and we desire that the council express itself on the chief accusations brought against the Pope. Without being prejudicial to the respect we owe to the Holy Roman Church, we are ready to co operate for the convocation and reunion of a general council, and if Boniface declares excommunication or suspense against, we appeal in advance to a future council and to a future legitimate Pope."²⁵

On June 15, 1303, they presented to the king the document with thirty-two seals attached. The king promised protection to the clergy and to all who espoused his cause. Of all the prelates and ecclesiastics present at this Gallican Assembly, John de Pontoise, Abbot of Citeaux, alone refused to adhere *solo abbate Cisterciensi excepto* to this appeal to a general council, and he was imprisoned in Paris. The next day the court of France, wishing to strengthen its cause still more, sent into the provinces commissaries, who were charged to collect, and if need be, to force the adhesions of the clergy, the nobility and the cities to the convocation of a general council.

There was no opposition to the adhesions on the part of the lords nor on the part of the commons. The clergy, however, hesitated and gave evasive answers. The majority of them, in giving their adhesions, added to this clause, "that they did not intend by their acquiescence to diminish in any way the honor of the Roman Church."²⁶ Others stated that they did not wish

25 Cf. HEFELE-LECLERQ, *Histoire des Conciles*, t. VI. p. 446.

26 Cf. DUPUY, *Preuves du diff rend*, pp. 120-122.

that the king should take advantage of the adhesion by acquiring over them a new right.²⁷ A curious instance, however, was that of the Provincial of the Order of Friars Preacher. He wrote from Paris to the brothers of his Order that, upon witnessing such numerous adhesions given by such high personages, he did not wish to appear singular, so he gave his and invited his brothers to follow his example.²⁸ There were refusals, however, for besides that of the Abbot of Cîteaux, eleven convents of the same Order refused to adhere. The Dominicans of Montpellier, Limoges and the Franciscans of Nîmes had "invincible scruples" as to their adhesions. All who refused to adhere were imprisoned. The king had the frontiers of the kingdom heavily guarded, lest any should escape the obligation of adhering by having recourse to flight.

On June 24, 1303, the Feast of St. John the Baptist, an immense crowd of laymen and ecclesiastics assembled in the garden of the royal palace of the Louvre where Bertrand of St. Denis gave a sermon in French. He took for his text words of St. Luke: "He shall be called great before the Lord," and he applied the text first to St. John the Baptist, then to the King of France. Some monks who were present addressed the people and explained to them that the Pope desired to destroy the king and the kingdom of France, and that the king desired only the salvation of souls. They reminded the assembly that the University of Paris, and all the chapters of France adhere to the appeal to a general council. They then asked the members of this Assembly if they would adhere, and they cried out *Oui! Oui!* After the accusations against Boniface were read, the king ordered the confiscation of the goods of all the prelates and of all the members of the clergy then absent from the kingdom, and published the appeal to a council. The majority bowed their heads "to this most Christian king" proclaiming the appeal to a general council and to a future Pope.

The shameful defection of the clergy can hardly be condoned, yet a Dominican friar, Bernard Guion, who was a contemporary of Philip the Fair, claimed that many of the clergy

27 Cf. *Ibid.*

28 Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154.

were forced to adhere *quadam quasi necessitate compulsi*.²⁹ Very often a prelate being erroneously informed, and not knowing what course the other members of the clergy pursued, gave his signature; and much pressure was exerted upon those who were not disposed to sign the acts. Besides the royal pressure exerted upon the clergy who refused to adhere, it is necessary to take into account the important element of heresy charged against Boniface. Nogaret was an expert in Canon and Civil Law, and in denouncing Boniface VIII as an heretical Pope, he had found the most decisive means of troubling the consciences of this period. To accuse a Pope who had been reigning for some years was an audacious proceeding, but to bring a formal charge of heresy against him was to reserve the matter for decision, in appearance at least, to the exclusive authority of the Church, and to give the appeal to a council a semblance of regularity from a juridical point of view. Such considerations may have influenced the clergy.³⁰ However that may be, more than seven hundred acts of adhesion were received from the ecclesiastics of the kingdom. For the first time in the history of France, the people, high and low, appealed from the Pope to a general council and took the part of a monarch who oppressed them against a Pope who safeguarded them from tyranny. Philip, not content with the adhesions of France, sought to obtain those of the other states, and wrote, for this purpose, to the barons and prelates of Navarre, Spain, Portugal and to the cities of Italy.³¹ Favorable replies came from the communities of Navarre and the bishops of Portugal.

While these voluntary or forced adhesions to the convocation of a council were being collected, some writings pertaining to the relations of the spiritual power to the temporal power, were published. Some, like James of Viterbo and Egidio Colonna, or Giles of Rome, the Archbishop of Bourges, who, on account of his profound knowledge of Aristotelian philosophy merited the title of: "Doctor fundatissimus" maintained that the Pope, being the sovereign director of consciences and the supreme or-

29 Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

30 Cf. ARGUILLIERE, "L'Appel au Concile sous Philippe le Bel et la Genèse-Arguillère des Théories Conciliaires," *Revue des questions historiques*, t. LXXXIX, p. 43, Paris, 1911.

31 Cf. DUPUY, *Histoire du différend*, pp. 126 ff.

dainer of human affairs, has the right to depose kings and that the authority of the Church embraced not only the spiritual order, but the political and civil order, and that such was the plentitude of the Pope's power that it was impossible to calculate the extent of it. Others, like the Friar Minor, William of Ockam, declared on the contrary that the authority of the king was independent of that of the Pope, and that in paying the tribute to Cæsar, Christ had shown that he claimed neither for Himself nor for His Vicar, any temporal power whatever, and that the ecclesiastical hierarchy being occupied solely with the salvation of souls, should abandon to the princes, questions of peace and war and of administration of the states. Others, like the Dominican, John of Paris, contended that the pontificate was above the kingship, but this was only an honorary superiority under the keeping of which, the two powers, independent one of the other, ought to unite in the interests of the people without exceeding their respective prerogatives. It may be pertinently observed here that the public expression of personal opinion ought to be recorded among the many innovations of this time.³²

Peter Dubois, a client of Philip, dared to propose to this sovereign the suppression of the temporal power of the Pope, in order to invest the kings with it, and thereby to realize the object of his dream: "a universal monarchy for the welfare of France." He even asked the king to suggest this to the pontiff. Dubois speaks of the Pope thus: "A peaceful old man, the Pope cannot suppress arms and rebellion. Does he wish to use force? Then he will experience resistance, war will break out and millions of men will perish, whose souls will be lost, souls whom he has been charged to defend and to save. He does not claim any glory save that of pardoning, of announcing the word of God, and of restoring Christian princes to peace. But when he appears as the author and promoter of wars and homicides, he gives a pernicious example, he does what he detests, he blames what he accuses in others; and does what he prevents others from doing."³³ Dubois even attacked questions of ecclesiastical

³² Cf. ROCQUAIN, *La Cour de Rome et L'Esprit de Réforme avant Luther*, t. 11, pp. 307 ff.

³³ Cf. BOUTARIC, *La France sous Philippe le Bel*, pp. 118 ff.

discipline and dogma, and proposed to the king the abolition of the celibacy of the clergy.

Boniface heard the news of these scandalous meetings at the Louvre and an appeal to a general council, not from his own legates but more probably from some victims, who had escaped from Philip's hands. He had transferred his Court to Anagni, his summer residence, and needless to say, the report of the proceedings of these assemblies was heart-rending to him. Uneasy, but not overcome, he was now practically alone, politically helpless against a seemingly all-powerful king. But neither the attacks directed against him, nor the numerous adhesions to the convocation of a council, at which he was to be judged, served to shake his courage and magnanimity; on the contrary it was in the midst of these trials and treacheries, that the grandeur of his soul became most apparent and most striking.

In an attitude of saddened dignity, he refuted the charges which were brought against him in these assemblies; especially that of heresy, for the fact, that he who had so ably defended the dogmas of faith, was now reputed as a heretic, was indeed a cruel and crushing insult to him. He grieved, however, not so much for the loss of his own reputation, but for the slanderous and seditious conduct of the members of his flock. And as if disdainful of bringing to light again, those foul imputations with which he was charged, he simply remarked that his reputation had been attacked by men "whose tongues were in the mire while their eyes were turned towards heaven." He referred to Philip only to reproach him with his ingratitude. "In so far as We have shown him kindness," Boniface said, "he calls Us Very Holy Father, but when, faithful to the duties of our pastoral mission, We have wished to correct his faults, he has spoken with hatred against Us." In referring to the general council which they resolved to convoke against him, he declared that according to the laws of the Church, such a council cannot be convoked without his consent, he being a legitimate Pope.

Boniface now held a consistory at Anagni (August 15, 1303) and forthwith issued five Bulls. In the Bull *Nuper ad audientiam*, with solemn oath he cleared himself of all the crimes with which he was charged in France, declaring that they were utterly without foundation in fact. In this Bull, he resumed all

his grievances against the king and allowed him to foresee the sentence which he was preparing to pronounce against him, "for the king did not wish to imitate Theodosius, who humbly submitted to Ambrose and performed ecclesiastical penance, but rather he preferred to sadden the Pope with injuries and to threaten the convocation of a general council which the Pope alone can convoke." Boniface again mentioned the blasphemous accusations of heresy which were alleged against him and cried out: "Who then has ever heard it said that We are tainted with heresy?"

In another Bull, *Sedes Apostolica*, of the same date, the Pope deprived the Doctors of the University of Paris of the faculty of teaching and conferring the degrees of Licentiate and Doctorate in Theology and in Canon and Civil Law, since Philip the Fair had corrupted them; he reserved to himself the provision of all the vacant Churches in France until Philip would obey the Holy See and make the necessary satisfaction. Going further, he suspended the power of the Archbishop of Nicosia, the first signer of the schismatical resolutions, and styled him "one of the most perfidious instigators of the rebellion of the French." He then declared that the citations, to appear before the Apostolic See made to the king, would have their full effect by the mere fact of being affixed to the Church doors at the seat of the Roman Curia, i. e., Anagni, and he excommunicated all who hindered such citations.³⁴

The Pope declared that unless the king repented, he would inflict upon him the most severe punishments of the Church. He now prepared the Bull *Super Petri solio*, in which he formulated the sentence of excommunication against Philip, and related his grievances against the king: he referred to the mission entrusted to James de Normans; he recalled the prohibition placed by Philip on the convocation of a French council at Rome; he related that the king had insulted a bishop whom he had sent to him in the capacity of a papal-legate and had him guarded; that he desired to sever the unity of the Church, and had dealt harshly with the Abbot of Cîteaux, and other religious devoted to the Head of the Church; that he had cast into prison Nicholas Bene-

34 Cf. DUPUY, *Preuves du différend*, pp. 161 ff; cf. BARONIUS-RAYNALDI, *Annal. eccl'es.* ad ann. 1303, nos. 37, 40.

fratte, the bearer of the papal letters; that he had given refuge to the Colonnas despite the pontifical sentences, therefore, (he) Boniface is obliged to judge him rigorously with a just judgment. In traditional form, he then excommunicated Philip and loosed his subjects from their oath of fidelity to him, "if they obey him henceforth they are anathema." The Bull, *Super Petri solio*, whereby France was to be placed under interdict, was ready for promulgation on September 8, 1303; but meanwhile Philip had entered into diabolical plans with Nogaret and his satellites and had resolved to forestall the publication of the banns of interdict against France by the perpetration of the vile deed at Anagni.

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MISCELLANY

UNDIVIDED ALLEGIANCE

GOVERNOR SMITH'S REPLY TO MR. MARSHALL

Introducing this letter, the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* says: This is an historic incident, historic for the country and for the church. . . . Now for the first time in the Republic's history, under a constitution which forever forbids religious tests as qualifications for office, a candidate for the Presidency has been subjected to public questioning as to how he can give undivided allegiance to his country when his church restricts the freedom of his choice; and the candidate has answered—answered not deviously and with indirection, but straightforwardly, bravely, with the clear ring of candor.

CHARLES C. MARSHALL, Esq.

DEAR SIR:—

In your open letter to me in the April *Atlantic Monthly* you 'impute' to American Catholics views which, if held by them, would leave open to question the loyalty and devotion to this country and its Constitution of more than twenty million American Catholic citizens. I am grateful to you for defining this issue in the open and for your courteous expression of the satisfaction it will bring to my fellow citizens for me to give 'a disclaimer of the convictions' thus imputed. Without mental reservation I can and do make that disclaimer. These convictions are held neither by me nor by any other American Catholic, as far as I know. Before answering the argument of your letter, however, I must dispose of one of its implications. You put your questions to me in connection with my candidacy for the office of President of the United States. My attitude with respect to that candidacy was fully stated in my last inaugural address as Governor when, on January 1, 1927, I said:—

'I have no idea what the future has in store for me. Everyone else in the United States has some notion about it except myself. No man could stand before this intelligent gathering and say that he was not receptive to the greatest position the world has to give anyone. But I can say this, that I will do nothing to achieve it except to give to the people of the State the kind and character of service that will make me deserve it.'

I should be a poor American and a poor Catholic alike if I injected religious discussion into a political campaign. Therefore I would ask you to accept this answer from me not as a candidate for any public office but as an American citizen, honored with high elective office, meeting a challenge to his patriotism and his intellectual integrity. Moreover, I call your attention to the fact that I am only a layman. The *Atlantic Monthly* describes you as 'an experienced attorney' who 'has made himself an authority upon canon law.' I am neither a lawyer nor a theologian. What knowledge of law I have was gained in the course of my long experience in the Legislature and as Chief Executive of New York State. I had no such opportunity to study theology.

My first thought was to answer you with just the faith that is in me. But I knew instinctively that your conclusions could be logically proved false. It seemed right, therefore, to take counsel with someone schooled in the Church

law, from whom I learned whatever is hereafter set forth in definite answer to the theological questions you raise. I selected one whose patriotism neither you nor any other man will question. He wears upon his breast the Distinguished Service Cross of our country, its Distinguished Service Medal, the Ribbon of the Legion of Honor, and the Croix de Guerre with Palm of the French Republic. He was the Catholic Chaplain of the almost wholly Catholic 165th Regiment in the World War—Father Francis P. Duffy, now in the military service of my own State.

Taking your letter as a whole and reducing it to commonplace English, you imply that there is conflict between religious loyalty to the Catholic faith and patriotic loyalty to the United States. Everything that has actually happened to me during my long public career leads me to know that no such thing as that is true. I have taken an oath of office in this State nineteen times. Each time I swore to defend and maintain the Constitution of the United States. All of this represents a period of public service in elective office almost continuous since 1903. I have never known any conflict between my official duties and my religious belief. No such conflict could exist. Certainly the people of this State recognize no such conflict. They have testified to my devotion to public duty by electing me to the highest office within their gift four times. You yourself do me the honor, in addressing me, to refer to 'your fidelity to the morality you have advocated in public and private life and to the religion you have revered; your great record of public trusts successfully and honestly discharged.' During the years I have discharged these trusts I have been a communicant of the Roman Catholic Church. If there were conflict, I, of all men, could not have escaped it, because I have not been a silent man, but a battler for social and political reform. These battles would in their very nature disclose this conflict if there were any.

I regard public education as one of the foremost functions of government and I have supported to the last degree the State Department of Education in every effort to promote our public-school system. The largest single item of increased appropriations under my administration appears in the educational group for the support of common schools. Since 1919, when I first became Governor, this item has grown from \$9,000,000 to \$82,500,000. My aim—and I may say I have succeeded in achieving it—has been legislation for child welfare, the protection of working men, women, and children, the modernization of the State's institutions for the care of helpless or unfortunate wards, the preservation of freedom of speech and opinion against the attack of war-time hysteria, and the complete reorganization of the structure of the government of the State.

I did not struggle for these things for any single element, but in the interest of all of the eleven million people who make up the State. In all of this work I had the support of churches of all denominations. I probably know as many ecclesiastics of my Church as any other layman. During my long and active public career I never received from any of them anything except co-operation and encouragement in the full and complete discharge of my duty to the State. Moreover, I am unable to understand how anything that I was taught to believe as a Catholic could possibly be in conflict with what is good citizenship. The

essence of my faith is built upon the Commandments of God. The law of the land is built upon the Commandments of God. There can be no conflict between them.

Instead of quarreling among ourselves over dogmatic principles, it would be infinitely better if we joined together in inculcating obedience to these Commandments in the hearts and minds of the youth of the country as the surest and best road to happiness on this earth and to peace in the world to come. This is the common ideal of all religions. What we need is more religion for our young people, not less; and the way to get more religion is to stop the bickering among our sects which can only have for its effect the creation of doubt in the minds of our youth as to whether or not it is necessary to pay attention to religion at all.

Then I know your imputations are false when I recall the long list of other public servants of my faith who have loyally served the State. You as a lawyer will probably agree that the office of Chief Justice of the United States is second not even to that of the President in its influence on the national development and policy. That court by its interpretation of the Federal Constitution is a check not only upon the President himself but upon Congress as well. During one fourth of its history it has been presided over by two Catholics, Roger Brooke Taney and Edward Douglass White. No one has suggested that the official conduct of either of these men was affected by any unwarranted religious influence or that religion played with them any part other than it should play in the life of every God-fearing man.

And I know your imputations are false when I recall the tens of thousands of young Catholics who have risked and sacrificed their lives in defense of our country. These fundamentals of life could not be true unless your imputations were false.

But, wishing to meet you on your own ground, I address myself to your definite questions, against which I have thus far made only general statements. I must first call attention to the fact that you often divorce sentences from their context in such a way as to give them something other than their real meaning. I will specify. You refer to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII as 'declaring to the world that the orders of the Church of England were void, her priests not priests,' and so forth. You say that this was the 'strange fruit' of the toleration of England to the Catholics. You imply that the Pope gratuitously issued an affront to the Anglican Church. In fact, this Apostolic Letter was an answer to a request made at the instance of priests of the Anglican Church for recognition by the Roman Catholic Church of the validity of their priestly orders. The request was based on the ground that they had been ordained in succession from the Roman Catholic priests who became the first priests of the Anglican Church. The Apostolic Letter was a mere adverse answer to this request, ruling that Anglican priests were not Roman Catholic priests, and was in no sense the gratuitous insult which you suggest it to be. It was not directed against England or citizens of that Empire.

Again, you quote from the *Catholic Encyclopedia* that my Church 'regards dogmatic intolerance, not alone as her incontestable right, but as her sacred

duty.' And you say that these words show that Catholics are taught to be politically, socially, and intellectually intolerant of all other people. If you had read the whole of that article in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, you would know that the real meaning of these words is that for Catholics alone the Church recognizes no deviation from complete acceptance of its dogma. These words are used in a chapter dealing with that subject only. The very same article in another chapter dealing with toleration toward non-Catholics contains these words: 'The intolerant man is avoided as much as possible by every high-minded person. . . . The man who is tolerant in every emergency is alone lovable.' The phrase 'dogmatic intolerance' does not mean that Catholics are to be dogmatically intolerant of other people, but merely that inside the Catholic Church they are to be intolerant of any variance from the dogma of the Church.

Similar criticism can be made of many of your quotations. But, beyond this, by what right do you ask me to assume responsibility for every statement that may be made in any encyclical letter? As you will find in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (Vol. V, p. 414), these encyclicals are not articles of our faith. The Syllabus of Pope Pius IX, which you quote on the possible conflict between Church and State, is declared by Cardinal Newman to have 'no dogmatic force.' You seem to think that Catholics must be all alike in mind and in heart, as though they had been poured into and taken out of the same mould. You have no more right to ask me to defend as part of my faith every statement coming from a prelate than I should have to ask you to accept as an article of your religious faith every statement of an Episcopal bishop, or of your political faith every statement of a President of the United States. So little are these matters of the essence of my faith that I, a devout Catholic since childhood, never heard of them until I read your letter. Nor can you quote from the canons of our faith a syllable that would make us less good citizens than non-Catholics. In fact and in truth, I have been taught the spirit of tolerance, and when you, Mr. Marshall, as a Protestant Episcopalian, join with me in saying the Lord's Prayer, we both pray, not to 'My Father,' but to 'Our Father.'

But I go further to demonstrate that the true construction of your quotations by the leaders of Catholic thought is diametrically the opposite of what you suggest it to be.

I

Your first proposition is that Catholics believe that other religions should, in the United States, be tolerated only as a matter of favor and that there should be an established church. You may find some dream of an ideal of a Catholic State, having no relation whatever to actuality, somewhere described. But, voicing the best Catholic thought on this subject, Dr. John A. Ryan, Professor of Moral Theology at the Catholic University of America, writes in *The State and the Church* of the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, quoted by you:—

'In practice, however, the foregoing propositions have full application only to the completely Catholic State. . . . The propositions of Pope Pius IX condemning the toleration of non-Catholic sects do not now, says Father Pohle, "apply even to Spain or the South American republics, to say nothing of countries possessing a greatly mixed population." He lays down the following gen-

eral rule: "When several religions have firmly established themselves and taken root in the same territory, nothing else remains for the State than to exercise tolerance towards them all, or, as conditions exist to-day, to make complete religious liberty for individual and religious bodies a principle of government."

That is good Americanism and good Catholicism. And Father Pohle, one of the great writers of the Catholic Church, says further:—

'If religious freedom has been accepted and sworn to as a fundamental law in a constitution, the obligation to show this tolerance is binding in conscience.'

The American prelates of our Church stoutly defend our constitutional declaration of equality of all religions before the law. Cardinal O'Connell has said: 'Thus to every American citizen has come the blessed inheritance of civil, political, and religious liberty safeguarded by the American Constitution . . . the right to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience.'

Archbishop Ireland has said: 'The Constitution of the United States reads: "Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." It was a great leap forward on the part of the new nation towards personal liberty and the consecration of the rights of conscience.'

Archbishop Dowling, referring to any conceivable union of Church and State, says: 'So many conditions for its accomplishment are lacking in every government of the world that the thesis may well be relegated to the limbo of defunct controversies.'

I think you have taken your thesis from this limbo of defunct controversies.

Archbishop Ireland again said: 'Religious freedom is the basic life of America, the cement running through all its walls and battlements, the safeguard of its peace and prosperity. Violate religious freedom against Catholics, our swords are at once unsheathed. Violate it in favor of Catholics, against non-Catholics, no less readily do they leap from the scabbard.'

Cardinal Gibbons has said: 'American Catholics rejoice in our separation of Church and State, and I can conceive no combination of circumstances likely to arise which would make a union desirable to either Church or State. . . . For ourselves we thank God that we live in America, "in this happy country of ours," to quote Mr. Roosevelt, where "religion and liberty are natural allies."'

And referring particularly to your quotation from Pope Pius IX, Dr. Ryan, in *The State and the Church*, says: 'Pope Pius IX did not intend to declare that separation is always inadvisable, for he had more than once expressed his satisfaction with the arrangement obtaining in the United States.'

With these great Catholics I stand squarely in support of the provisions of the Constitution which guarantee religious freedom and equality.

II

I come now to the speculation with which theorists have played for generations as to the respective functions of Church and State. You claim that the Roman Catholic Church holds that, if conflict arises, the Church must prevail over the State. You write as though there were some Catholic authority or tribunal to decide with respect to such conflict. Of course there is no such thing.

As Dr. Ryan writes: 'The Catholic doctrine concedes, nay, maintains, that the State is coördinate with the Church and equally independent and supreme in its own distinct sphere.'

What is the Protestant position? The Articles of Religion of your Protestant Episcopal Church (XXXVII) declare: 'The Power of the Civil Magistrate extendeth to all men, as well Clergy as Laity, in all things temporal; but hath no authority in things purely spiritual.'

Your Church, just as mine, is voicing the injunction of our common Saviour to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.

What is this conflict about which you talk? It may exist in some lands which do not guarantee religious freedom. But in the wildest dreams of your imagination you cannot conjure up a possible conflict between religious principle and political duty in the United States, except on the unthinkable hypothesis that some law were to be passed which violated the common morality of all God-fearing men. And if you can conjure up such a conflict, how would a Protestant resolve it? Obviously by the dictates of his conscience. That is exactly what a Catholic would do. There is no ecclesiastical tribunal which would have the slightest claim upon the obedience of Catholic communicants in the resolution of such a conflict. As Cardinal Gibbons said of the supposition that 'the Pope were to issue commands in purely civil matters':—

'He would be offending not only against civil society, but against God, and violating an authority as truly from God as his own. Any Catholic who clearly recognized this would not be bound to obey the Pope; or rather his conscience would bind him absolutely to disobey, because with Catholics conscience is the supreme law which under no circumstances can we ever lawfully disobey.'

Archbishop Ireland said: 'To priest, to Bishop, or to Pope (I am willing to consider the hypothesis) who should attempt to rule in matters civil and political, to influence the citizen beyond the range of their own orbit of jurisdiction that are the things of God, the answer is quickly made: "Back to your own sphere of rights and duties, back to the things of God."'

Bishop England, referring to our Constitution, said: 'Let the Pope and the Cardinals and all the powers of the Catholic world united make the least encroachment on that Constitution, we will protect it with our lives. Summon a General Council—let that Council interfere in the mode of our electing but an assistant to a turnkey of a prison—we deny the right, we reject the usurpation.'

Our Supreme Court has marked out the spheres of influence of Church and State in a case from which you quote copiously, *Watson v. Jones*, 13 Wall. 729; but you refrain from quoting this statement:—

'The right to organize voluntary religious associations, to assist in the expression and dissemination of any religious doctrine, and to create tribunals for the decision of controverted questions of faith within the association, and for the ecclesiastical government of all of the individual members, the congregation and officers within the general association, is unquestioned. . . . It is of the essence of these religious unions and of their right to establish tribunals for the decision of questions arising among themselves that those decisions could be

binding in all cases of ecclesiastical cognizance, subject only to such appeal as the organism itself provides for.'

That is the State's attitude toward the Church. Archbishop Ireland thus puts the Church's attitude toward the State:—

'To the Catholic obedience to law is a religious obligation, binding in God's name the conscience of the citizen. . . . Both Americanism and Catholicism bow to the sway of personal conscience.'

Under our system of government the electorate entrusts to its officers of every faith the solemn duty of action according to the dictates of conscience.

Under our system of government the electorate entrusts to its officers of every faith the solemn duty of action according to the dictates of conscience. I may fairly refer once more to my own record to support these truths. No man, cleric or lay, has ever directly or indirectly attempted to exercise Church influence on my administration of any office I have ever held, nor asked me to show special favor to Catholics or exercise discrimination against non-Catholics.

It is a well-known fact that I have made all of my appointments to public office on the basis of merit and have never asked any man about his religious belief. In the first month of this year there gathered in the Capitol at Albany the first Governor's cabinet that ever sat in this State. It was composed, under my appointment, of two Catholics, thirteen Protestants and one Jew. The man closest to me in the administration of the government of the State of New York is he who bears the title of Assistant to the Governor. He had been connected with the Governor's office for thirty years, in subordinate capacities, until I promoted him to the position which makes him the sharer with me of my every thought and hope and ambition in the administration of the State. He is a Protestant, a Republican, and a thirty-second-degree Mason. In my public life I have exemplified that complete separation of Church from State which is the faith of American Catholics to-day.

III

I next come to education. You admit that the Supreme Court guaranteed to Catholics the right to maintain their parochial schools; and you ask me whether they would have so ruled if it had been shown that children in parochial schools were taught that the State should show discrimination between religions, that Protestants should be recognized only as a matter of favor, that they should be intolerant to non-Catholics, and that the laws of the State could be flouted on the ground of the imaginary conflict. My summary answer is: I and all my children went to a parochial school. I never heard of any such stuff being taught or of anybody who claimed that it was. That any group of Catholics would teach it is unthinkable.

IV

You next challenge the action of the Rota in annulling the Marlborough marriage. You suggest that the Rota by annulling the marriage (where the civil courts recognized it, but granted only a divorce) is interfering with the civil jurisdiction. That might be so if anybody claimed that the decree of the Rota had any effect under the laws of America, or any other nation of the world. But you must know that it has no such effect and that nobody claims it has.

The decree merely defined the status of the parties as communicants of the Church. Your Church refuses to recognize the ecclesiastical validity of divorces granted by the civil tribunals. Your Church has its tribunals to administer its laws for the government of its members as communicants of your Church. But their decrees have no bearing upon the status of your members as citizens of the United States. There is no difference in that respect between your tribunals and the Rota.

V

Finally you come to Mexico. By inference from the brief of a distinguished lawyer you intimate that it is the purpose of organized Catholics to seek intervention by the United States. Now I never read Mr. Guthrie's brief. I do not have to read it to reply to you, because the Pastoral Letter of the Catholic Episcopate of the United States in unmistakable words disclaimed any such intention. I do not see how, with complete candor, you could write to me about Mexico without quoting the following from that Pastoral Letter:—

'What, therefore, we have written is no call on the faithful here or elsewhere to purely human action. It is no interposition of our influence either as Bishops or as citizens to reach those who possess political power anywhere on earth, and least of all in our own country, to the end that they should intervene with armed force in the internal affairs of Mexico for the protection of the Church. Our duty is done when, by telling the story, we sound a warning to Christian civilization that its foundations are again being attacked and undermined. For the rest, God will bring His will to pass in His own good time and in His own good way.'

My personal attitude, wholly consistent with that of my Church, is that I believe in peace on earth, good will to men, and that no country has a right to interfere in the internal affairs of any other country. I recognize the right of no church to ask armed intervention by this country in the affairs of another, merely for the defense of the rights of a church. But I do recognize the propriety of Church action to request the good offices of this country to help the oppressed of any land, as those good offices have been so often used for the protection of Protestant missionaries in the Orient and the persecuted Jews of eastern Europe.

VI

I summarize my creed as an American Catholic. I believe in the worship of God according to the faith and practice of the Roman Catholic Church. I recognize no power in the institutions of my Church to interfere with the operations of the Constitution of the United States or the enforcement of the law of the land. I believe in absolute freedom of conscience for all men and in equality of all churches, all sects, and all beliefs before the law as a matter of right and not as a matter of favor. I believe in the absolute separation of Church and State and in the strict enforcement of the provisions of the Constitution, that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. I believe that no tribunal of any church has any power to make any decree of any force in the law of the land, other than to establish the status of its own communicants within its own church. I believe

in the support of the public school as one of the corner stones of American liberty. I believe in the right of every parent to choose whether his child shall be educated in the public school or in a religious school supported by those of his own faith. I believe in the principle of noninterference by this country in the internal affairs of other nations and that we should stand steadfastly against any such interference by whomsoever it may be urged. And I believe in the common brotherhood of man under the common fatherhood of God.

In this spirit I join with fellow Americans of all creeds in a fervent prayer that never again in this land will any public servant be challenged because of the faith in which he has tried to walk humbly with his God.

Very truly yours,

ALFRED E. SMITH.

Commenting editorially on Mr. Marshall's letter, Father Parsons, S.J., says in *America* (April 9):

The letter contains two main parts: one detailing Mr. Marshall's notion of the Catholic conception; the other, and larger, reciting four examples to prove his contentions. In the first part, Mr. Marshall contends that the Catholic conception of political and religious liberty and the American conception cannot be reconciled. The Catholic conception he examines on its purely religious side first, namely in the Church's claim to be the only true Church of Christ; and later, on its political side, in the "irrepressible conflict" caused by the Church's claim to be "paramount" to the State. All of his findings he confirms by many quotations, fourteen in all, and by a process of reasoning from those quotations. Mr. Marshall's quotations, his reasonings, and his examples will all be scrutinized, in order to see what basis of fact there is for his contentions. It will be found that he has needlessly alarmed himself, and many other people along with him.

MR. MARSHALL'S QUOTATIONS

In order to gain a proper perspective on Mr. Marshall's argument, let us examine first the quotations he adduces to prove his points. A laborious attempt at verification has yielded some interesting results.

At least one of them is falsified, one is not to be found in the document indicated, two cannot be found because of faulty reference, one is not fully quoted and five are taken from their context and put in a setting which in effect falsifies them.

One of the quotations, and probably the capital one, is offered as taken from Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical on "The Christian Constitution of States." In Mr. Marshall's citation, it reads: "Over the mighty multitude of mankind, God has set rulers with power to govern, and He has willed that one of them (the Pope) should be the head of all." (Page 543, col. 2). This is given to show that the Church claims the Pope has sovereignty over the rulers of the world. It is one of the commonplaces of anti-Catholic controversy.

Now let us see the truth. In the paragraph preceding, Pope Leo has been speaking of the Church and its members. "Over this mighty multitude," he

says, "God has placed rulers (the Bishops, of course) with power to govern (spiritually, of course), and He has willed that one of them (of the Bishops) should be head of all" (the Bishops). (*The Great Encyclicals of Leo XIII*, New York, 1903, p. 112). Only by inserting the words "of mankind," in or out of brackets, and taking the whole out of its context, can the words be made to mean temporal sovereignty. Somebody has taken Mr. Marshall in.

Another capital quotation, that on page 548, column 1, is given as taken from the same Encyclical. Five readings of this document fail to discover it. Two quotations are given from the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, on page 541, col. 2, and page 542, col. 2. This work is a large one, in fifteen volumes, and no reference is made to volume or page. These two quotations also can, therefore, be fairly ruled out, except to notice that one of them (page 541, col. 2) Mr. Marshall uses in order to show that the Church is committed to a policy of civil and political religious intolerance. Unfortunately, the words he gives explicitly refer to *dogmatic* intolerance, which means, as explained in the same *Encyclopedia* (s. v. "Toleration") that the members of the Church may not consciously assent (by the intellect) to error. Mr. Marshall and every other human being are committed to the same intolerance, or else to become absolute sceptics.

Another failure to quote entirely occurs on page 541. Leo XIII is held to admit that these conceptions are for Catholics a "potential obstacle to their participation in public office." Now the words quoted occur in the middle of a passage in which the Pontiff is arguing *for* participation of Catholics in office, though he allows in passing that conditions may render it inexpedient. He was referring, historically, to the Italian situation, where Italy had confiscated without compensation Church property. Mr. Marshall might at least have remarked that it was not the "conceptions" which prevented their taking office, and that anyhow the Pope gave it is the *universal* rule, with extreme exceptions impossible of realization in this country, that Catholics should take office.

In another place (page 543, col. 2) Mr. Marshall makes a parallel between the Pope and our Constitution. The Pope says, speaking in the abstract, that "it is not lawful for the State . . . to hold in equal favor different kinds of religion." The Constitution says: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The Pope thus declares the Constitution unlawful. But all the Constitution means is that it is not among the powers delegated by the people to the Federal Government to establish any religion. The words of the Pope make no reference to the lawfulness of this.

The rest of Mr. Marshall's quotations which have any special bearing on his arguments are so wrested from their context, by giving them a setting in a new context, as to present a picture of Catholic teaching which is grotesque. The whole purpose of Pope Leo's great Encyclical was to show how the State and the Church may live peacefully together. His words are presented by Mr. Marshall so as to give the impression of a defiance hurled against the State. This use of "texts" in religious controversy is an old story.

If Mr. Marshall wished a text which would prove conclusive, he might have filled out the following from the same Encyclical:

'The Almighty, therefore, has appointed the charge of the human race between two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil, the one being set over Divine, the other over human things. (These words Mr. Marshall quotes. He omits what follows:) Each in its kind is supreme; each has fixed limits within which it is contained; limits which are defined by the nature and special object of the province of each, so that there is, we may say, an orbit traced out within which the action of each is brought into play by its own native right (Great Encyclicals, page 114).'

In the same effort to show how Church and State need not conflict, the Pope uses the following words:

'Whatever, therefore, in things human is of a sacred character, whatever belongs, either of its own nature or by reason of the end to which it is referred, to the salvation of souls or to the worship of God, is subject to the power and judgment of the Church. Whatever is to be ranged under the civil and political order is rightly subject to the civil authority. Jesus Christ Himself has given command that what is Caesar's is to be rendered to Caesar, and that what belongs to God is to be rendered to God (Ibid. page 115).'

In his efforts at conciliation, the Pope goes further, and this point Mr. Marshall completely overlooks. In any particular difference of opinion that may arise, Leo says officially, the Church is always ready to arbitrate the conflict, and to do so with "the great possible kindness and indulgence." This is very far from Mr. Marshall's "exclusive jurisdiction (sic) over the determination of" disputed points. Legal theorizings, throughout the article, thus run away from common sense and historical fact.

MR. MARSHALL AND THE PLAIN MEANING OF WORDS

By way of transition to a discussion of Mr. Marshall's conclusions, let us cast a passing glance at his use of words. Continually, though no doubt unconsciously, the words "State," "Church," "power," "jurisdiction," "sovereignty," "lawful," "unlawful," "intolerance," are used now in one sense now in another, and the transition is so subtle that only the most attentive reader would notice it.

Yet what a world of difference it makes! Spiritual jurisdiction is confused with temporal jurisdiction, and the Church claiming the first is made to claim the second. The same for sovereignty, and only a person able to go back to the Pope's words would perceive the difference. Passages about the State in the abstract are made to stand for the United States, without any of the obvious allowances being made. Words, in which the Pope declares that separation of Church and State are not "universally lawful," are made to appear a condemnation of the American system, when in the *very passage quoted*, the United States are explicitly excluded. The two words obviously refer to the Italy of Leo's time. But let us examine Mr. Marshall's method of argument.

MR. MARSHALL'S CONCLUSIONS

We have reviewed Mr. Marshall's premises and his use of words, and found them faulty. It is hardly to be wondered at that his conclusions would suffer the same fate. Indeed the whole first part of his argument could be brushed

aside as irrelevant, namely, that in which he takes the Church to task for claiming to be the only true Church of Christ. Mr. Marshall's argument runs thus: Pope Leo divides the whole world between the civil power and the ecclesiastical (Roman Catholic Church) power. *Therefore* any other church is "without natural right to function on the same basis as the Roman Catholic Church in the religious and moral affairs of the State." *Therefore* the Church is committed to political intolerance (confused with dogmatic). *Therefore* "there is not a lawful (presumably in the United States) equality of other religions with that of the Roman Catholic Church, but that Church will allow (*sic*) State authorities for politic reasons—that is by favor, but not by right—to tolerate other religious societies."

Is not Mr. Marshall aware that all that is said by the Popes and theologians refers to those countries where the people, that is, the State, is Catholic, and therefore has no practical or theoretical reference to these United States? The *Catholic Encyclopedia*, (*s.v.* Toleration, vol. XIV, page 767, col. 1, Sec. III): "The Obligation to Show Practical Civic Toleration," will enlighten him on this point. The Catholic theory regarding countries like the United States is acceptance of the equality of religions, of the separation of Church and State, and of the obligation of Catholic public servants to observe this equality and this separation. Whether in the abstract this is done by favor or by right is matter for a legal quibble, but has no significance at the present day.

Again, when Mr. Marshall approaches the political side, he is no more fortunate in establishing his contention. The foundation of his arguments has already been undermined in the editorial on his quotations. The manner of his argumentation on the political issue is the same unwarranted jump from the abstract to the concrete which he makes on the religious issue. His premise is that the Church and the Pope claim to be "paramount" in "sovereignty" to the State. *Therefore*, he says, in case of a conflict or difference of opinion, "that Church by the very theory of her existence cannot yield, because what she claims as her right and her truth she claims is hers by the 'direct act of God'; in her theory, God Himself directly forbids. The State cannot yield because of a great mass of citizens who are not Roman Catholics." But the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and Pope Pius IX and Pope Leo XIII are not considering a country where "a great mass of citizens are not Roman Catholics." They are laying down the duties of a Catholic State towards a Church with which it is in fact united by reason of the "great mass of the citizens" being Catholics. As for the Church yielding to the State on every matter, even on matters that are openly sinful, does not Mr. Marshall stand with the "Roman Catholic" Church?

Therefore, Mr. Marshall's fundamental contention, that a deadlocked conflict is inevitable in the United States, falls of its own weight. Except in cases, impossible in this country as long as our Constitution lasts, of the State defying the plain law of God, in which cases even Mr. Marshall would be obliged to resist, the whole thing is imaginary and quibbling. Conciliation, not resistance, is the Church's policy.

MR. MARSHALL'S EXAMPLES

As examples of the "irrepressible conflict," Mr. Marshall instances four facts, or rather three facts and an imaginary fact. The first, the imaginary one, is what would the Church have done if the parish schools in Oregon had been accused of giving instruction "inconsistent with the peace and safety of the State," instead of being merely parish schools. Mr. Marshall's answer for the Church is that "she would have had to assert exclusive jurisdiction over the determination of this point." Leo XIII's answer is that she would have arbitrated, or submitted to the courts. So much for the imaginary fact.

The next fact is the Marlborough case, on which Mr. Marshall has spoken before, and been answered, but on which he evidently has received no new light. His conclusion on this fact is this: "Are such proceedings consistent with the peace and safety of States?" But these words are justifiable only if there was in fact an interference with any American civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction. There was no interference with civil jurisdiction, because the Rota itself did not exercise an act of civil jurisdiction, and did not in any way pass on the civil aspects of the marriage, but expressed an opinion on the religious aspects of a marriage which civilly, by the act of an English court, no longer existed. Nor was any ecclesiastical jurisdiction violated, because the Rota did not pass on any act of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; the ministers of matrimony, as Mr. Marshall knows well, are not the church ministers but the contracting parties, who themselves merely asked an opinion of the Catholic court.

The Mexican case brings from Mr. Marshall this monstrous assertion, speaking of the Mexican Constitution's denial of juridical personality to the Church.

'This provision is . . . a part of the organic law legally adopted by the political sovereignty of the Mexican people, *absolute and supreme in creating their constitutional conditions.* (Italics inserted).'

The Mexican Constitution, even according to Mexican law, was certainly not legally adopted, nor by the Mexican people. But apart from that, does Mr. Marshall seriously hold that a political sovereignty is absolute and supreme in its acts, that it has no ethical or moral inhibitions, that it is supreme over conscience, that all rights derive from it, that the Mexican people could thus impose their uncontrolled, arbitrary desires? If he does, how can he call himself a Christian? If he does not, he has no argument.

Lastly, Blessed John Felton. Mr. Marshall has persuaded himself that this English gentleman was beatified by Leo XIII *because* he committed a treasonable act against Elizabeth. Apart from the doubtfulness of the "treason," let Mr. Marshall inquire at Rome how difficult it is to secure the beatification of anyone upon whose death rests the slightest suspicion of his being put to death for political reasons. Blessed John was beatified, in spite of, not because of his political act; he was beatified because he was put to death out of hatred of the Faith, along with a great many others.

A FEW QUESTIONS TO MR. MARSHALL

Since questions are flying around these days, let us put a few to Mr. Marshall. What is his theory of the relations of Church and State? Does he consider the

State to be superior to conscience? In case of a conflict between those who compose the State and his conscience—not an impossible supposition; suppose the State ordained cannibalism as a test of citizenship—in case of such a conflict, how as a citizen would he decide? According to his private judgment? But that is antinomianism, and that in civil affairs is anarchy. Would he follow the State's dictum? But that is putting the State above conscience, and that is not Christianity. Would he follow the organized doctrines of his own Church? If he did, would he consider that his Church was exercising "jurisdiction" over the State? The doctrine which disturbs Mr. Marshall is very probably his own after all. We refrain for our part from asking Mr. Marshall whether his conduct could be reconciled with his principles.

Mr. Marshall's "opinions" are by no means personal. There is compelling evidence that they represent a recrudescence of a disease which afflicted a distinguished English statesman of the Victorian age, the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone. In 1876 Harper and Brothers of New York published Gladstone's volume, *The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance*, in the second part of which, entitled "Vaticanism," the author fulminates against "The Rusty Tools, the Syllabus." Cardinal Newman ("Letter to the Duke of Norfolk") met Gladstone's attack with such effect that the latter had to do just as Mr. Marshall has done since the publication of Governor Smith's letter.

We reproduce here only a section of Newman's "Reply to Gladstone":

Modern Rome then is not the only place where the traditions of the old Empire, its principles, provisions, and practices, have been held in honour; they have been retained, they have been maintained in substance, as the basis of European civilization down to this day, and notably among ourselves. In the Anglican establishment the King took the place of the Pope; but the Pope's principles kept possession. When the Pope was ignored, the relations between Pope and king were ignored too, and therefore we had nothing to do any more with the Old Imperial laws which shaped those relations; but the old idea of a Christian Polity was still in force. It was a first principle with England that there was one true religion, that it was inherited from an earlier time, that it came of direct Revelation, that it was to be supported to the disadvantage, to say the least, of other religions, of private judgment, of personal conscience. The Puritans held these principles as firmly as the school of Laud. As to the Scotch Presbyterians, we read enough about them in the pages of Mr. Buckle. The Stuarts went, but still their principles suffered no dethronement; their action was restrained, but they were still in force, when this century opened.

It is curious to see how strikingly in this matter the proverb has been fulfilled, "Out of sight, out of mind." Men of the present generation, born in the new civilization, are shocked to witness in this abiding Papal system the words, ways, and works of their grandfathers. In my own lifetime has that old world been alive, and has gone its way. Who will say

that the plea of conscience was as effectual, sixty years ago, as it is now in England, for the toleration of every sort of fancy religion? Had the Press always that wonderful elbow-room which it has now? Might public gatherings be held, and speeches made, and republicanism avowed in the time of the Regency, as is now possible? Were the thoroughfares open to monster processions at that date, and the squares and parks at the mercy of Sunday manifestations? Could *savants* in that day insinuate in scientific assemblies what their hearers mistook for atheism, and artisans practise it in the centres of political action? Could public prints day after day, or week after week, carry on a war against religion, natural and revealed, as now is the case? No; law or public opinion would not suffer it; we may be wiser or better now, but we were then in the wake of the Holy Roman Church, and had been so from the time of the Reformation. We were faithful to the tradition of fifteen hundred years. All this was called Toryism, and men gloried in the name; now it is called Popery and reviled.

When I was young the State had a conscience, and the Chief Justice of the day pronounced, not as a point of obsolete law, but as an energetic, living truth, that Christianity was the law of the land. And by Christianity was meant pretty much what Bentham calls Church-of-Englandism, its cry being the dinner toast, "Church and king," Blackstone, though he wrote a hundred years ago, was held, I believe, as an authority on the state and the law in this matter, up to the beginning of this century. On the supremacy of Religion he writes as follows, that is, as I have abridged him for my purpose.

"The belief of a future state of rewards and punishments, &c., &c., . . . these are the grand foundation of all judicial oaths. All moral evidence, all confidence in human veracity, must be weakened by irreligion, and overthrown by infidelity. Wherefore all affronts to Christianity, or endeavours to depreciate its efficacy, are highly deserving of human punishment. It was enacted by the statue of William III, that if any person educated in, and having made profession of, the Christian religion, shall be writing, printing, teaching, or advised speaking, deny the Christian religion to be true, or the Holy Scriptures to be of divine authority," or again in like manner, "if any person educated in the Christian religion shall be writing, &c., deny any one of the Persons of the Holy Trinity to be God, or maintain that there are some more gods than one, he shall on the first offence be rendered incapable to hold office or place of trust; and for the second, be rendered incapable of bringing any action, being guardian, executor, legatee, or purchaser of lands, and shall suffer three years' imprisonment without bail. To give room, however, for repentance, if, within four months after first conviction, the delinquent will in open court publicly renounce his error, he is discharged for that once from all disabilities.

Again: "those who absent themselves from the divine worship in the established Church, through total irreligion, and attend the service of no

other persuasion, forfeit one shilling to the poor every Lord's day they so absent themselves, and £20 to the King, if they continue such a default for a month together. And if they keep any inmate, thus irreligiously disposed in their houses, they forfeit £10 per month."

Further, he lays down that "reviling the ordinances of the Church is a crime of a much grosser nature than the other of non-conformity; since it carries with it the utmost indecency, arrogance, and ingratitude:— indecency, by setting up private judgement in opposition to public; arrogance, by treating with contempt and rudeness what has at least a better chance to be right than the singular notions of any particular man; and ingratitude, by denying that indulgence and liberty of conscience to the members of the national Church, which the retainers to every petty conventicle enjoy."

Once more: "In order to secure the established Church against perils from non-conformists of all denominations, infidels, Turks, Jews, heretics, papists, and sectaries, there are two bulwarks erected, called the Corporation and Test Acts; by the former, no person can be legally elected to any office relating to the Government of any City or Corporation, unless, within a twelvemonth before, he has received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England; . . . the other, called the Test Act, directs all officers, civil and military, to make the declarations against transubstantiation within six months after their admission, and also within the same time to receive the sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England." The same test being undergone by all persons who desired to be naturalized, the Jews also were excluded from the privileges of Protestant Churchmen.

Laws, such as these, of course gave a tone to society, to all classes, high and low, and to the publications, periodicals or other, which represented public opinion. Dr. Watson, who was the liberal prelate of his day, in his answer to Paine, calls him (unless my memory betrays me) "a child of the devil and an enemy of all righteousness." Cumberland, a man of the world, (here again I must trust to the memory of many past years) reproaches a Jewish writer with ingratitude for assailing, as he seems to have done, a tolerant religious establishment; and Gibbon, an unbeliever, feels himself at liberty, in his posthumous Autobiography, to look down on Priestly, whose "Socinian shield," he says, "Has been repeatedly pierced by the mighty spear of Horsley, and whose trumpet of sedition may at length awake the magistrates of a free country."

Such was the position of free opinion and dissenting worship in England till quite a recent date, when one after another the various disabilities which I have been recounting, and many others besides, melted away, like snow at spring-tide; and we all wonder how they could ever have been in force. The cause of this great revolution is obvious, and its effect inevitable. Though I profess to be an admirer of the principles now superseded in themselves, mixed up as they were with the imperfections and evils incident to everything human, nevertheless I say frankly I do not

see how they could possibly be maintained in the ascendant. When the intellect is cultivated, it is as certain that it will develop into a thousand various shapes, as that infinite hues and tints and shades of colors will be reflected from the earth's surface, when the sun-light touches it; and in matters of religion the more, by reason of the extreme subtlety and abstruseness of the mental action by which they are determined. During the last seventy years, first one class of the community, then another, has awakened up to thought and opinion. Their multiform views on sacred subjects necessarily affected and found expression in the governing order. The State in past time had a conscience; George the Third had a conscience; but there were other men at the head of affairs besides him with consciences, and they spoke for others besides themselves, and what was to be done, if he could not work without them, and they could not work with him, as far as religious questions came up at the Council-board? This brought on a dead-lock in the time of his successor. The ministry of the day could not agree together in the policy or justice of keeping up the state of things which Blackstone describes. The State ought to have a conscience; but what if it happened to have half-a-dozen, or a score, or a hundred, in religious matters, each different from each? I think Mr. Gladstone has brought out the difficulties of the situation himself in his Autobiography. No government could be formed, if religious unanimity was a *sine qua non*. What then was to be done? As a necessary consequence, the whole theory of Toryism, hitherto acted on, came to pieces and went the way of all flesh. This was in the nature of things. Not a hundred Popes could have hindered it, unless Providence interposed by an effusion of divine grace on the hearts of men, which would amount to a miracle, and perhaps would interfere with human responsibility. The Pope has denounced the sentiment that he ought to come to terms with "progress, liberalism, and the new civilization." I have no thought at all of disputing his words. I leave the great problem to the future. God will guide other Popes to act when Pius goes, as He has guided him. No one can dislike the the democratic principles more than I do. No one mourns, for instance, more than I, over the state of Oxford, given up, alas! to "liberalism and progress," to the forfeiture of her great medieval motto, "*Dominus illuminatio mea*," and with a consequent call on her to go to Parliament or the Heralds College for a new one; but what can we do? All I know is, that Toryism, that is, loyalty to persons, "spring immortal in the human breast"; that religion is a spiritual loyalty; and that Catholicity is the only divine form of religion. And thus, in centuries to come, there may be found out some way of uniting what is free in the new structure of society with what is authoritative in the old, without any base compromise with "Progress" and "Liberalism."

But to return:— I have noticed the great revolution in the state of the Law which has taken place since 1828 for this reason:— to suggest that Englishmen, who within fifty years kept up the Pope's system, are not exactly the parties to throw stones at the Pope for keeping it up still.

But I go further:— in fact the Pope has not said on this subject of conscience (for that is the main subject in question) what Mr. Gladstone makes him say. On this point I desiderate that fairness in his Pamphlet which we have a right to expect from him; and in truth his unfairness is wonderful. He says, pp. 15; 16, that the Holy See has "condemned" the maintainers of "the Liberty of the Press" of conscience, and of worship." Again, that the "Pontiff has condemned free speech, free writing, a free press, toleration of non-conformity, liberty of conscience," p. 42. Now, is not this accusation of a very wholesale character? Who would not understand it to mean that the Pope had pronounced a universal anathema against all these liberties in toto, and that English law, on the contrary, allowed those liberties in toto, which the Pope had condemned? But the Pope has done no such thing. The real question is, in what respect, in what measure, has he spoken against liberty: the grant of liberty admits of degrees. Blackstone is careful to show how much more liberty the law allowed to the subject in his day, how much less severe it was in its safeguards against abuse, than it had used to be; but he never pretends that it is conceivable that liberty should have no boundary at all. The very idea of political society is based upon the principle that each member of it gives up a portion of his natural liberty for advantages which are greater than that liberty; and the question is, whether the Pope, in any act of his which touches us Catholics, in any ecclesiastical or theological statement of his, has propounded any principle, doctrine, or view, which is not carried out in fact at this time in British courts of law, and would not be conceded by Blackstone. I repeat, the very notion of human society is a relinquishment, to a certain point, of the liberty of its members, individually, for the sake of a common security. Would it be fair on that account to say that the British Constitution condemns all liberty of conscience in word and in deed.

We Catholics, on our part, are denied liberty of our religion by English law in various ways, but we do not complain, because a limit must be put to even innocent liberties, and we acquiesce in it for the social compensations which we gain on the whole. Our school boys cannot play cricket on Sundays, not even in country places, for fear of being taken before a magistrate and fined. In Scotland we cannot play music on Sundays. Here we cannot sound a bell for Church. I have had before now a lawyer's authority for saying that a religious procession is illegal even within our own premises. Till the last year or two we could not call our Bishops by the titles which our Religion gave them. A mandate from the Home Secretary obliged us to put off our cassocks when we went out of doors. We are forced to pay rates for the establishment of secular schools which we cannot use, and then we have to find means again for building schools of our own. Why is not all this as much an outrage on our conscience as the prohibition upon Protestants at Rome, Naples, and Malaga, before the late political changes—(not, to hold their services in a private house, or in the ambassador's, or outside the walls),—but to flaunt them

in public and thereby to irritate the natives? Mr. Gladstone seems to think it is monstrous or the Holy See to sanction such a prohibition. If so, may we not call upon him to gain for us in Birmingham "the free exercise of our religion," in making a circuit of the streets in our vestments, and chanting the "Pange Lingua," and the protection of the police against the mob which would be sure to gather round us—particularly since we are English born, whereas the Protestants at Malaga or Naples were foreigners.¹

But we have the good sense neither to feel such disabilities a hardship, nor a protest against them as a grievance.

But now for the present state of English Law:— I say seriously Mr. Gladstone's accusation of us avails quite as much against Blackstone's four volumes, against laws in general, against the social contract, as against the Pope. What the Pope has said, I will show presently: first let us see what the statute book has to tell us about the present state of English liberty of speech, of the press, and of worship.

First, as to public speaking and meetings:—do we allow of seditious language, or of insult to the sovereign, or his representatives? Blackstone says, that a misprision is committed against him by speaking or writing against him, cursing or wishing him ill, giving out scandalous stories concerning him, or doing anything that may tend to lessen him in his esteem of his subjects, may weaken his government, or may raise jealousies between him and his people. Also he says, that "threatening and reproachful words to any judge sitting in the Courts" involve "a high misprision, and have been punished with large fines, imprisonment, and corporal punishment." And we recollect quite lately the judges of the Queen's Bench prohibited public meetings and speeches which had for their object the issue of a case then proceeding in Court.

Then again, as to the Press, there are two modes of bridling it, one before the printed matter is published, and other after. The former is the method of censorship, and latter that the law of libel. Each is a restriction on the liberty of the Press. We prefer the latter. I never heard it said that the law of libel was of a mild character; and I never heard that the Pope, in any Brief or Rescript, had insisted on a censorship.

Lastly, liberty of worship: as to the English restriction of it, we have had a notable example of it in the last session of Parliament, and we have still more edifying illustrations of it in the next, though certainly not from Mr. Gladstone. The ritualistic party, in the free exercise of their rights, under the shelter of the Anglican rubrics, of certain of the Anglican offices, of the teachings of their great divines, and of thier conscientious interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles have, at their own expense, built churches for worship after their own way; and, on the other hand, Parliament and the newspapers are attempting to put them down, not so much

1 "Hominibus illuc immigrantibus." These words Mr. Gladstone omits; also he translates "publicum" "free," pp. 17, 18, as if worship could not be free without being public.

because they are acting against the traditions and the law of the Establishment, but because of the national dislike and dread of the principles and doctrines which their worship embodies.

When Mr. Gladstone has a right to say broadly, by reason of these restrictions, that British law and the British people condemn the maintainers of liberty of conscience, of the press, and of worship, in toto, then may he say so of the Encyclical, on account of those words which to him have so frightful a meaning.

But now let us see, on the other hand, what the proposition really is, the condemnation of which leads him to say, that the Pope has unrestrictedly "condemned those who maintain the liberty of the Press, the liberty of conscience and of worship, and the liberty of speech," p. 16, has condemned free speech, free writing, and a free press," p. 42. The condemned proposition speaks as follows:

"Liberty of conscience and worship, is the inherent right of all men. 2. It ought to be proclaimed in every rightly constituted society. 3. It is a right to all sorts of liberty (*omnimodam libertatem*) such that it ought not to be restrained by any authority, ecclesiastical or civil, as far as public speaking, printing, or any other public manifestation of opinions is concerned.

Now, is there any government on earth that could stand the strain of such a doctrine as this? It starts by taking for granted that there are certain Rights of man; Mr. Gladstone so considers, I believe; but other deep thinkers of the day are quite of another opinion; however, if the doctrine of the proposition is true, then the right of conscience, of which it speaks, being inherent in man, is of universal force—that is, all over the world—also says the proposition, it is a right which must be recognized by all rightly constituted governments. Lastly, what is the right of conscience thus inherent in our nature, thus necessary for all states? The proposition tells us. It is the liberty of every one to give public utterance, in every possible shape, by every possible channel, without any let or hinderance from God or man, to all his notions whatsoever.²

Which of the two in this matter is preemptory and sweeping in his utterance, the author of this thesis himself, or the Pope who has condemned what the other has uttered? Which of the two is it who would force upon the world a universal? All that the Pope has done is to deny a universal, and what a universal! a universal liberty to all men to say out whatever doctrine they may hold by preaching, or by the press, uncurbed by Church or civil power. Does not this bear out what I said in the foregoing section of the sense in which Pope Gregory denied a "liberty of conscience." It is a liberty of self-will. What if a man's conscience embraces the duty of regicide, or infanticide, or free love? You may say that in England the good sense of the nation would stifle and extinguish such atrocities. True,

2 "*Jus civibus inesse ad omnimodam libertatem, nulla vel ecclesiastica vel civili auctoritate coarctandam, quo suos conceptus quoscunque sive voce, sive typis, sive alia ratione, palam publiceque manifestare ac declarare valeant.*"

but the proposition says that it is the very right of every one, by nature, in every well constituted society. If so, why have we gagged the Press in Ireland on the ground of its being seditious? Why is not India brought within the British constitution? It seems a light epithet for the Pope to use, when he calls such doctrine of conscience deliramentum: of all conceivable absurdities it is the wildest and most stupid. Has Mr. Gladstone really not better complaint to make against the Pope's condemnations than this?

Perhaps he will say, Why should the Pope take the trouble to condemn what is so wild?

We reproduce the official texts of the Encyclical "Quanta Cura" (in translation) and the "Syllabus," in the original:

VIII DECEMBER, MDCCCLXIV.
THE ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF OUR MOST HOLY FATHER,
THE POPE, PIUS IX.

To our Venerable Brethren, all Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops having favour and Communion of the Holy See.

PIUS PAPA IX.

VENERABLE BRETHREN,
HEALTH AND APOSTOLIC BENEDICTION.

With how great care and pastoral vigilance the Roman Pontiffs, our predecessors, fulfilling the duty and office committed to them by the Lord Christ Himself in the person of most Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, of feeding the lambs and the sheep, have never ceased sedulously to nourish the Lord's whole flock with words of faith and with salutary doctrine, and to guard it from poisoned pastures, is thoroughly known to all, and especially to you, Venerable Brethren. And truly the same, Our Predecessors, asserters of justice, being especially anxious for the salvation of souls, had nothing ever more at heart than by their most wise Letters and Constitutions to unveil and condemn all those heresies and errors which, being adverse to our Divine Faith, to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, to purity of morals, and to the eternal salvation of men, have frequently excited violent tempests, and have miserably afflicted both Church and State. For which cause the same Our Predecessors, have, with Apostolic fortitude, constantly resisted the nefarious enterprises of wicked men, who, like raging waves of the sea foaming out their own confusion, and promising liberty whereas they are the slaves of corruption, have striven by their deceptive opinions and most pernicious writings to raze the foundations of the Catholic religion ad of civil society, to remove from among men all virtue and justice, to deprave the mind and judgment of all, to turn away from true moral training unwary persons, and especially inexperienced youth, to lead it into the snares of error, and at length to tear it from the bosom of the Catholic Church.

But now, as is well known to you, Venerable Brethren, already, scarcely had we been elevated to this Chair of Peter (by the hidden counsel of Divine Providence, certainly by no merit of our own), when, seeing with the greatest grief of Our soul a truly awful storm excited by so many evil opinions, and (seeing also) the most grievous calamities never sufficiently to be deplored which overspread the Christian people from so many errors, according to the duty of Our Apostolic Ministry, and following the illustrious example of Our Predecessors, We Raised Our voice, and in many published Encyclical Letters and Allocutions delivered in Consistory, and other Apostolic Letters, we condemned the chief errors of this most unhappy age, and we excited your admirable Episcopal vigilance, and we again and again admonished and exhorted all sons of the Catholic Church, to us most dear, that they should altogether abhor and flee from the contagion of so dire a pestilence. And especially in our first Encyclical Letter written to you on Nov. 9, 1846, and in two Allocutions delivered by us in Consistory, the one on Dec. 9, 1854, and the other on June 9, 1862, we condemned the monstrous portents of opinion which prevail especially in this age, bringing with them the greatest loss of souls and detriment of civil society itself; which are grievously opposed also, not only to the Catholic Church and her salutary doctrine and venerable rights, but also to the eternal natural law engraven by God in all men's hearts, and to right reason; and from which almost all other errors have their origin.

But, although we have not omitted often to proscribe and reprobate the chief errors of this kind, yet the cause of the Catholic Church, and the salvation of souls entrusted to us by God, and the welfare of human society itself, altogether demand that we again stir up your pastoral solicitude to exterminate other evil opinions, which spring forth from the said errors as from a fountain. Which false and perverse opinions are on that ground the more to be detested, because they chiefly tend to this, that that salutary influence be impeded and (even) removed, which the Catholic Church, according to the institution and command of her Divine Author, should freely exercise even to the end of the world—not only over private individuals, but over nations, peoples, and their sovereign princes; and (tend also) to take away that mutual fellowship and concord of counsels between Church and State which has ever proved itself propitious and salutary, both for religious and civil interests. For you well know, Venerable Brethren, that at this time men are found not a few who, applying to civil society the impious and absurd principle of *naturalism*, as they call it, dare to teach that "the best constitution of public society and (also) civil progress altogether require that human society be conducted and governed without regard being had to religion any more than if it did not exist; or, at least, without any distinction being made between the true religion and false ones." And, against the doctrine of Scripture, of the Church, and of the Holy Fathers, they do not hesitate to assert that "that is the best condition of civil society, in which no duty is recognized, as attached to the civil power, of restraining by enacted penalties, offenders against the Catholic religion, except so far as public peace may require." From which totally false idea of social government they do not fear to foster that erroneous opinion, most fatal in its effects on the Catholic Church and the

salvation of souls, called by Our Predecessor, Gregory XVI, an *insanity*, viz., that "liberty of conscience and worship is each man's personal right, which ought to be legally proclaimed and asserted in every rightly-constituted society; and that a right resides in the citizens to an absolute liberty, which should be restrained by no authority whether ecclesiastical or civil, whereby they may be able openly and publicly to manifest and declare any of their ideas whatever, either by word of mouth, by the press, or in any other way." But, while they rashly affirm this, they do not think and consider that they are preaching *liberty of perdition*; and that "if human arguments are always allowed free room for discussion, there will never be wanting men who will dare to resist truth, and to trust in the flowing speech of human wisdom; whereas we know, from the very teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ, how carefully Christian faith and wisdom should avoid this most injurious babbling."

And, since where religion has been removed from civil society, and the doctrine and authority of divine revelation repudiated, the genuine notion itself of justice and human right is darkened and lost, and the place of true justice and legitimate right is supplied by material force, thence it appears why it is that some, utterly neglecting and disregarding the surest principles of sound reason, dare to proclaim that "the people's will, manifested by what is called public opinion or in some other way, constitutes a supreme law, free from all divine and human control; and that in the political order accomplished facts, from the very circumstance that they are accomplished, have the force of right." But who does not see and clearly perceive that human society, when set loose from the bonds of religion and true justice, can have, in truth, no other end than the purpose of obtaining and amassing wealth, and that (society under such circumstances) follows no other law in its actions, except the unchastened desire of ministering to its own pleasure and interests? For this reason, men of the kind pursue with bitter hatred the Religious Orders, although these have deserved extremely well of Christendom, civilization and literature, and cry out that the same have no legitimate reason for being permitted to exist; and thus (these evil men) applaud the calumnies of heretics. For, as Pius VI, Our Predecessor, taught most wisely, "the abolition of regulars is injurious to that state in which the Evangelical counsels are openly professed; it is injurious to a method of life praised in the Church as agreeable to Apostolic doctrine; it is injurious to the illustrious founders, themselves, whom we venerate on our altars, who did not establish these societies but by God's inspiration." And (these wretches) also impiously declare that permission should be refused to citizens and to the Church, "whereby they may openly give alms for the sake of Christian charity"; and that the law should be abrogated "whereby on certain fixed days servile works are prohibited because of God's worship;" and on the most deceptive pretext that the said permission and law are opposed to the principles of the best public economy. Moreover, not content with removing religion from public society, they wish to banish it also from private families. For, teaching and professing the most fatal error of *Communism and Socialism*, they assert that "domestic society or the family derives the whole principle of its existence from the civil law alone; and, consequently, that from the civil law alone; and on it

depend, all rights of parents over their children, and especially that of providing for education." By which impious opinions and machinations these most deceitful men chiefly aim at this result, viz., that the salutary teaching and influence of the Catholic Church may be entirely banished from the instruction and education of youth, and that the tender and flexible minds of young men may be infected and depraved by every most pernicious error and vice. For all who have endeavored to throw into confusion things both sacred and secular, and to subvert the right order of society, and to abolish all rights, human and divine, have always (as we above hinted) devoted all their nefarious schemes, devices and efforts, to deceiving and depraving incautious youth and have placed all their hope in its corruption. For which reason they never cease by every wicked method to assail the clergy, both secular and regular, from whom (as the surest monuments of history conspicuously attest), so many great advantages have abundantly flowed to Christianity, civilization and literature, and to proclaim that "the clergy, as being hostile to the true and beneficial advance of science and civilization, should be removed from the whole charge and duty of instructing and educating youth."

Others meanwhile, reviving the wicked and so often condemned inventions of innovators, dare with signal impudence to subject to the will of the civil authority the supreme authority of the Church and of this Apostolic See given to her by Christ Himself, and to deny all those rights of the same Church and See which concern matters of the external order. For they are not ashamed of affirming "that the Church's laws do not bind in conscience unless when they are promulgated by the civil power; that acts and decrees of the Roman Pontiffs, referring to religion and the Church, need the civil power's sanction and approbation, or at least its consent; that the Apostolic Constitutions, whereby secret societies are condemned (whether an oath of secrecy be or be not required in such societies), and whereby their frequenters and favourers are smitten with anathema—have no force in those regions of the world wherein associations of the kind are tolerated by the civil government; that the excommunication pronounced by the Council of Trent and by Roman Pontiffs against those who assail and usurp the Church's rights and possessions, rests on a confusion between the spiritual and temporal orders, and (is directed) to the pursuit of a purely secular good; that the Church can decree nothing which binds the conscience of the faithful in regard to their use of temporal things; that the Church has no right of restraining by temporal punishments those who violate her laws; that it is conformable to the principles of sacred theology and public law to assert and claim for the civil government a right of property in those goods which are possessed by the Church, by the Religious Orders, and by other pious establishments." Nor do they blush openly and publicly to profess the maxim and principle of heretics from which arise so many perverse opinions and errors. For they repeat that the "ecclesiastical power is not by divine right distinct from, and independent of, the civil power, and that such distinction and independence cannot be preserved without the civil power's essential rights being assailed and usurped by the Church." Nor can we pass over in silence the audacity of those who, not enduring sound doctrine, contend that "without sin

and without any sacrifice of the Catholic profession assent and obedience may be refused to those judgments and decrees of the Apostolic See, whose object is declared to concern the Church's general good and her rights and discipline, so only it does not touch the dogmata of faith and morals." But no one can be found not clearly and distinctly to see and understand how grievously this is opposed to the Catholic dogma of the full power given from God by Christ our Lord Himself to the Roman Pontiff of feeding, ruling and guiding the Universal Church.

Amidst, therefore, such great perversity of depraved opinions, we, well remembering our Apostolic Office, and very greatly solicitous for our most holy Religion, for sound doctrine and the salvation of souls which is intrusted to us by God, and (solicitous also) for the welfare of human society itself, have thought it right again to raise up our Apostolic voice. Therefore, by our Apostolic authority, we reprobate, proscribe, and condemn all the singular and evil opinions and doctrines severally mentioned in this letter, and will and command that they be thoroughly held by all children of the Catholic Church as reprobated, proscribed and condemned.

And besides these things, you know very well, Venerable Brethren, that in these times the haters of truth and justice and most bitter enemies of our religion, deceiving the people and maliciously lying, disseminate sundry and other impious doctrines by means of pestilential books, pamphlets and newspapers dispersed over the whole world. Nor are you ignorant also, that in this our age some men are found who, moved and excited by the spirit of Satan, have reached to that degree of impiety as not to shrink from denying our Ruler and Lord Jesus Christ, and from impugning His Divinity with wicked pertinacity. Here, however, we cannot but extol you, Venerable Brethren, with great and deserved praise, for not having failed to raise with all zeal your episcopal voice against impiety so great.

Therefore, in this our letter, we again most lovingly address you, who, having been called unto a part of our solicitude, are to us, among our grievous distresses, the greatest solace, joy, and consolation, because of the admirable religion and piety wherein you excel, and because of that marvellous love, fidelity, and dutifulness, whereby, bound as you are to us, and to this Apostolic See in most harmonious affection, you strive strenuously and sedulously to fulfill your most weighty episcopal ministry. For from your signal pastoral zeal we expect that, taking up the sword of the spirit which is the word of God, and strengthened by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, you will, with redoubled care, each day more anxiously provide that the faithful intrusted to your charge "abstain from noxious verbiage, which Jesus Christ does not cultivate because it is not His Father's plantation." Never cease also to inculcate on the said faithful that all true felicity flows abundantly upon man from our august religion and its doctrine and practice; and that happy is the people whose God is their Lord. Teach that "kingdoms rest on the foundation of the Catholic Faith; and that nothing is so deadly, so hastening to a fall, so exposed to all danger, (as that which exists) if, believing this alone to be sufficient for us that we receive free will at our birth, we seek nothing further from the Lord; that is, if

forgetting our Creator we abjure his power that we may display our freedom." And again do not fail to teach "that the royal power was given not only for the governance of the world, but most of all for the protection of the Church;" and that there is nothing which can be of greater advantage and glory to Princes and Kings than if, as another most wise and courageous Predecessor of ours, St. Felix, instructed the Emperor Zeno, they "permit the Catholic Church to practise her laws, and allow no one to oppose her liberty. For it is certain that this mode of conduct is beneficial to their interests, viz., that where there is question concerning the causes of God, they study, according to His appointment, to subject the royal will to Christ's Priests, not to raise it above theirs."

But if always, Venerable Brethren, now most of all amidst such great calamities both of the Church and of civil society, amidst so great a conspiracy against Catholic interests and this Apostolic See, and so great a mass of errors, it is altogether necessary to approach with confidence the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy and find grace in timely aid. Wherefore, we have thought it well to excite the piety of all the faithful in order that, together with us and you, they may unceasingly pray and beseech the most merciful Father of light and pity with most fervent and humble prayers, and in the fullness of faith flee always to Our Lord Jesus Christ, who redeemed us to God in his blood, and earnestly and constantly supplicate His most sweet Heart, the victim of most burning love toward us, that He would draw all things to Himself by the bonds of His love, and that all men inflamed by His most holy love may walk worthily according to His heart, pleasing God in all things, bearing fruit in every good work. But since without doubt men's prayers are more pleasing to God if they reach Him from minds free from all stain, therefore we have determined to open to Christ's faithful, with Apostolic liberality, the Church's heavenly treasures committed to our charge, in order that the said faithful, being more earnestly enkindled to true piety, and cleansed through the sacrament of Penance from the defilement of their sins, may with greater confidence pour forth their prayers to God, and obtain His mercy and grace.

By these Letters, therefore, in virtue of our Apostolic authority, we concede to all and singular the faithful of the Catholic world, a Plenary Indulgence in the form of Jubilee, during the space of one month only for the whole coming year 1865, and not beyond; to be fixed by you, Venerable Brethren, and other legitimate Ordinaries of places, in the very same manner and form in which we granted it at the beginning of our supreme Pontificate by our Apostolic Letters in the form of a Brief, dated November 20, 1846, and addressed to all your episcopal Order, beginning, "*Arcano Divinæ Providentiæ consilio*," and with all the same faculties which were given by us in those Letters. We will, however, that all things be observed which were prescribed in the aforesaid Letters, and those things be excepted which we there so declared. And we grant this, notwithstanding anything whatever to the contrary, even things which are worthy of individual mention and derogation. In order, however, that all doubt and difficulty be removed, we have commanded a copy of said Letters be sent you.

"Let us implore," Venerable Brethren, "God's mercy from our inmost heart and with our whole mind; because He has Himself added, 'I will not remove my

mercy from them.' Let us ask and we shall receive; and if there be delay and slowness in our receiving because we have gravely offended, let us knock, because to him that knocketh it shall be opened, if only the door be knocked by our prayers, groans and tears, in which we must persist and persevere, and if the prayer be unanimous . . . let each man pray to God, not for himself alone, but for all his brethren, as the Lord hath taught us to pray." But in order that God may the more readily assent to the prayers and desires of ourselves, of you and of all the faithful, let us with all confidence employ as our advocate with Him the Immaculate and most holy Virgin Mary, Mother of God, who has slain all heresies throughout the world, and who, the most loving Mother of us all, "is all sweet . . . and full of mercy . . . shows herself to all as easily entreated; shows herself to all as most merciful; pities the necessities of all with a most large affection;" and standing as a Queen at the right hand of her only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, in gilded clothing, surrounded with variety, can obtain from Him whatever she will. Let us also seek the suffrages of the Most Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and of Paul, his Fellow-Apostle, and of all the Saints in Heaven, who having now become God's friends, have arrived at the heavenly kingdom, and being crowned bear their palms, and being secure of their own immortality are anxious for our salvation.

Lastly, imploring from our great heart for You from God the abundance of all heavenly gifts, we most lovingly impart the Apostolic Benediction from our inmost heart, a pledge of our signal love towards you, to yourselves, Venerable Brethren, and to all the clerics and lay faithful committed to your care.

Given at Rome, from S. Peter's, the 8th day of December, in the year 1864, the tenth from the Dogmatic Definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God.

In the nineteenth year of Our Pontificate.

SYLLABUS

COMPLECTENS PRAECIPUOS NOSTRAE AETATIS ERRORS QUI NOTANTUR IN ALLOCUTIONIBUS CONSISTORIALIBUS, IN ENCYCLICIS ALIISQUE APOSTOLICIS LITTERIS SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII PAPAE IX.

I.

Pantheismus, Naturalismus et Rationalismus Absolutus.

I. Nullum supremum, sapientissimum, providentissimumque Numen divinum existis ab hac rerum universitate distinctum, et Deusidem est ac rerum natura, et ideirco immutationibus obnoxius; Deusque reapse fit in homine et mundo, atque omnia Des sunt et ipsissimam Dei habent substantiam; ac una eademque res et Deus cum mundo, et proinde spiritus cum materia, necessitas cum libertate, verum cum falso, bonum cum malo, et justum unjusto.

II. Neganda est omnis Dei actio in homines et mundum.

III. Humana ratio, nullo prorsus Dei respectu habito, unicus est veri et falsi, boni et mali arbiter, sibi ipsi lex, et naturalibus suis viribus ad hominum ac populorum bonum curandum sufficit.

IV. Omnes religionis veritates ex nativa humanæ rationis vi derivant; hinc ratio est princeps norma qua homo cognitionem omnium cujuscumque generis veritatum assequi possit ac debeat.

V. Divina revelatio est imperfecto et ideo subjecta continuo et indefinito progressui qui humanæ rationis progressionis respondeat.

VI. Christi fides humanæ refragatur rationi: divinaque revelatio non solum prodest, verum etiam nocet hominis perfectioni.

VII. Prophetiæ et miracula in sacris Litteris exposita et narrata sunt poetarum commenta, et christianæ fidei mysteria philosophicarum investigationum summa; et utriusque Testamenti libris mythica continentur inventa; ipseque Jesus Christus est mythica fictio.

II.

Rationalismus Moderatus.

VIII. Quum ratio humana ipsi religioni æquiparetur, ideo theologicæ disciplinæ perinde ac philosophicæ tractandæ sunt.

IX. Omnia indiscriminatim dogmata religionis christianæ sunt objectum naturalis scientiæ seu philosophiæ; et humana ratio historice tantum exulta potest ex suis naturalibus viribus et principiis ad veram de omnibus etiam reconditionibus dogmatibus scientiam pervenire, modo hæc dogmata ipsi rationi tamquam objectum proposita fuerint.

X. Quum aliud sit philosophus, aliud philosophia, ille just officium habet se submittendi auctoritati, quam veram ipse probaverit; at philosophia neque potest, neque debet ulli sese submittere auctoritati.

XI. Ecclesia non solum non debet in philosophiam unquam animadvertete, verum etiam debet ipsius philosophiæ tolerare errores, eique relinquere ut ipsa se corrigat.

XII. Apostolicæ Sedis Romanarumque Congregationum decreta liberum scientiæ progressum impediunt.

XIII. Methodus et principia, quibus antiqui doctores scholastici Theologiam excoluerunt, temporum nostrorum necessitatibus scientiarumque progressui minime congruunt.

XIV. Philosophia tractanda est nulla supernaturalis revelationis habita ratione.

N. B. Cum rationalismi systemate coherent maximam partem errores Antonii Gunther, qui damnatur in Epist. ad Card. Archiep. Coloniensem *Eximiam tuam*, 15 iunii 1847, et in Epist. ad Episc. Wratislaviensem *Dolore haud mediocri*, 30 aprilis 1860.

III.

Indifferentismus, Latitudinarismus.

XV. Liberum cuique homini est eam amplecti ac profiteri religionem, quam rationis lumine quis ductus veram putaverit.

XVI. Homines in cujusvis religionis cultu viam æternæ salutis reperire æternamque salutem assequi possunt.

XVII. Saltem bene sperandum est de æterna illorum omnium salute, qui in vera Christi Ecclesia nequaquam versantur.

XVIII. Protestantismus non aliud est quam diversa ejusdem christianæ religionis forma, in qua æque in Ecclesia catholica Deo placere datum est.

IV.

Socialismus, Communismus, Societates clandestinæ, Societates biblicæ, Societates clerico-liberales.

Ejusmodi pestes sæpe gravissimisque verborum formulis reprobantur in Epist. encycl. Qui pluribus, 9 novemb. 1846; in Alloc. Quibus quantisque, 20 april. 1849; in Epist. encycl. Noscitis et Nobiscum, 8 dec. 1849; in Alloc. Singulari quadam, 9 decemb. 1854; in Epist. encycl. Quanto conficiamur moerore, 10 augusti 1863.

V.

Errores de Ecclesia ejusque juribus

XIX. Ecclesia non est vera perfectaue societas plane libera, nec pollet suis propriis et constantibus juribus sibi a divino suo Foundatore collatis, sed civilis potestatis est definire quæ sint Ecclesiæ jura ac limites, intra quos eadam jura exercere queat.

XX. Ecclesiastica potestas suam auctoritatem exercere non debet absque civilis gubernii venia et assensu.

XXI. Ecclesia non habet potestatem dogmatice definiendi, religionem catholicæ Ecclesiæ esse unice veram religionem.

XXII. Obligatio, qua catholici magistri et scriptores omnino adstringuntur, coarctatur in iis tantum, quæ ab infallibili Ecclesiæ judicio veluti fidei dogmata ab omnibus credanda proponuntur.

XXIII. Romani Pontifices et Concilia œcumenica a limitibus suæ potestatis recesserunt, jura Principum usurparunt, atque etiam in rebus fidei et morum definiendis errarunt.

XXIV. Ecclesia vis inferendæ potestatem not habet, neque potestatem ullam temporalem directam vel indirectam.

XXV. Præter potestatem episcopatui inhærentem, alia est attributa temporalis potestas a civili imperio vel expresse vel tacite concessa, revocanda propterea, cum libuerit, a civili imperio.

XXVI. Ecclesia non habet nativum ac legitimum jus acquirendi ac possidendi.

XXVII. Sacri Ecclesiæ ministri Romanusque Pontifex ab omni rerum temporalium cura ac dominio sunt omnino excludendi.

XXVIII. Episcopi, sine Gubernii venia, fas non est vel ipsas apostolicas litteras promulgare.

XXIX. Gratiæ a Romano Pontifice concessæ existimari debent tamquam irritæ nisi per Gubernium fuerint imploratæ.

XXX. Ecclesiæ et personarum ecclesiasticarum immunitas a jure civili ortum habuit.

XXXI. Ecclesiasticum forum pro temporalibus clericorum causis sive civilibus sive criminalibus omnino de medio tollendum est etiam inconsulta et reclamante Apostolica Sede.

XXXII. Absque ulla naturalis juris et æquitatis violatione potest abrogari personalis immunitas, qua clerici ab onere subeundæ exercendæque militiæ eximuntur; hanc vero abrogationem postulat civilis progressus, maxime in societate ad formam liberioris regiminis constituta.

XXXIII. Non pertinent unice ad ecclesiasticam jurisdictionis potestatem proprio ac nativo jure dirigere theologiarum rerum doctrinam.

XXXIV. Doctrina comparantium Romanum Pontificem Principi libero et agenti in universa Ecclesia, doctrina est quæ medio ævo prævaluit.

XXXV. Nihil vetat, alicujus Concilii generalis sententia aut universorum populorum facto, summum Pontificatum ab Romano Episcopo atque Urbe ad alium Episcopum aliamque civitatem transferri.

XXXVI. Nationalis Concilii definitio nullam aliam admittit disputationem, civilisque administratio rem ad hosce terminos exigere potest.

XXXVII. Institui possunt nationales Ecclesiæ ab auctoritate Romani Pontificis subductæ planeque divisæ.

XXXVIII. Divisioni Ecclesiæ in orientalem atque occidentalem nimia Romanorum Pontificum arbitria contulerunt.

VI.

Errores de societate civili tum in se, tum in suis ad Ecclesiam relationibus spectata.

XXXIX. Reipublicæ status, utpote omnium jurium origo et fons, jure quodam pollet nullis circumscripto limitibus.

XL. Catholicæ Ecclesiæ doctrina humanæ societatis bono et commodo adversatur.

XLI. Civili potestati vel ab infideli imperante exercitæ competit potestas indirecta negativa in sacra; eidem proinde competit nedum jus quod vocant *exequatur*, sed etiam jus *appellationis*, quam nuncupant *ab abusu*.

XLII. In conflictu legum utriusque potestatis, jus civile prævalet.

XLIII. Laica potestas auctoritatem habet rescindendi, declarandi ac faciendi irritas solemnes conventiones (vulgo Concordata) super usu jurium ad ecclesiasticam immunitatem pertinentium cum Sede Apostolica initas, sine hujus consensu, immo et ea reclamante.

XLIV. Civilis auctoritas potest se immiscere rebus quæ religionem, mores et regimen spirituale pertinent. Hinc potest de instructionibus judicare, quas Ecclesiæ pastores ad conscientiarum normam pro suo munere edunt, quin etiam potest de divinorum sacramentorum administratione et dispositionibus ad ea suscipienda necessariis decernere.

XLV. Totum scholarum publicarum regimen, in quibus juvenus christianæ alicujus Reipublicæ instituitur, episcopalibus dumtaxat seminariis aliqua ratione exceptis, potest ac debet attribui auctoritati civili, et ita quidem attribui, ut nullum alii cuicumque recognoscatur jus immiscendi se in disciplinam

scholarum, in regimine studiorum, in graduum colatione, in delectu aut approbatione magistrorum.

XLIV. Immo in ipsis clericorum seminariis methodus studiorum adhibenda civili auctoritati subijcitur.

XLVII. Postulat optima civilis societatis ratio, ut populares scholæ, quæ patent omnibus cujusque e populo classis pueris, ac publica universim Instituta, quæ litteris severioribusque, disciplinis tradendis et educationi ju ventutis curandæ sunt destinata, eximantur ab omni Ecclesiæ auctoritate, moderatrice vi et ingerentia, plenoque civilis ac politicæ auctoritatis arbitrio subijciantur, ad imperantium placita et ad communium ætatis opinionum amussim.

XLVIII. Catholicis viris probari potest ea juventutis instituendæ ratio, quæ sit a catholica fide et ab Ecclesiæ potestate sejuncta, quæque rerum dumtaxit naturalium scientiam ac terrenæ socialis vitæ fines tantum modo vel saltem primarium spectet.

XLIX. Civilis auctoritas potest impedire quominus sacrorum Antistites et fidelis populi cum Romano Pontifice libere ac mutuo communicent.

L. Laica auctoritas habet per se jus præsentandi Episcopos, et potest ab illis exigere ut ineant diocesim procuracionem, antequam ipsi canonicam a S. Sede institutionem et apostolicas litteras accipiant.

LI. Immo laicum gubernium habet jus deponendi ab exercito pastoralis ministerii Episcopos, neque tenetur obedire Romano Pontifici in iis quæ episcopatum et Episcoporum respiciunt institutionem.

LII. Gubernium potest suo jure immutare ætatem ab Ecclesia præscriptam pro religiosa tam mulierum quam virorum professione, omnibusque religiosis familiis indicere, ut neminem sine suo permissu ad solemnia vota nuncupanda admittant.

LIII. Abrogandæ sunt leges quæ ad religiosas familiarum statum tutandum, earumque jura et officia pertinent; immo potest civile gubernium iis omnibus auxilium præstare, qui a suscepto religiosæ vitæ instituto deficere ac solemnia vota frangere velint; pariterque potest religiosas easdem familias perinde ac collegiatis Ecclesias et beneficia simplicia et am juris patronatus penitus extinguere, illorumque bona et redditus civilis potestatis administrationi et arbitrio subijcere et vindicare.

LIV. Reges et Principes non solum ab Ecclesiæ jurisdictione eximuntur, verum etiam in quæstionibus jurisdictionis dirimendis superiores sunt Ecclesiæ.

LV. Ecclesia a Statu, Statusque ab Ecclesia sejungendus est.

VII.

Errores de Ethica naturali et Christiana.

LVI. Morum leges divina haud egent sanctione, minimeque opus est ut humanæ leges ad naturæ jus conformentur aut obligandi vim a Deo accipiant.

LVII. Philosophicarum rerum morumque scientia, itemque civiles leges possunt et debent a divina et ecclesiastica auctoritate declinare.

LVIII. Aliæ vires non sunt agnoscendæ nisi illæ quæ in materia positæ sunt, et omnis morum disciplina honestasque collocari debet in cumulandis et augendis quovis modo divitiis ac in voluptatibus explendis.

LIX. Jus in materiali facto consistit, et omnia hominum officia sunt nomen inane, et omnia humana facta juris vim habent.

LX. Auctoritas nihil aliud est nisi numeri et materialium virium summa.

LXI. Fortunata facta injustitia nulum juris sanctitati detrimentum affert.

LXII. Proclamandum est et observandum principium quod vocant de *non interventu*.

LXIII. Legitimis principibus obedientiam detrectare, immo et rebellare licit.

LXIV. Tum cujusque sanctissimi juramenti violatio, tum, quælibet scelestæ flagitiosæque actio sempiternæ legi repugnans, non solum haud est improbanda, verum etiam omnino licita, summisque laudibus efferenda, quando id pro patriæ amore agatur.

VIII.

Errores de Matrimonio Christiano.

LXV. Nulla ratione ferri potest, Christum evexisse matrimonium ad dignitatem sacramenti.

LXVI. Matrimonii sacramentum non est nisi contractui accessorium ab eoque separabile, ipsumque sacramentum in una tantum nuptiali benedictione situm est.

LXVII. Jure naturæ matrimonii vinculum non est indissolubile, et in variis casibus divortium proprie dictum auctoritate civili sanciri potest.

LXVIII. Ecclesia non habet potestatem impedimenta matrimonium dirimentia inducendi, sed ea potestas civili auctoritati competit, a qua impedimenta existentia tollenda sunt.

LXIX. Ecclesia sequioribus sæculis dirimentia impedimenta inducere cœpit, non jure proprio, sed illo jure usa, quod a civili potestate mutuata erat.

LXX. Tridentini canones qui anathematis censuram illis inferunt qui facultatem impedimenta dirimentia inducendi Ecclesiæ negare audeant, vel non sunt dogmatici vel de hac mutuata potestate intelligendi sunt.

LXXI. Tridentini forma sub infirmitatis pœna non obligat, ubi lex civilis aliam formam præstituat, et velit ac nova forma interveniente matrimonium valere.

LXXII. Bonifacius VIII votum casitatis in ordinatione emissum nuptias nullas reddere primus asseruit.

LXXIII. Vi contractus mere civilis potest inter christianos constare veri nominis matrimonium; falsumque est, aut contractum matrimonii inter christianos semper esse sacramentum, aut nullum esse contractum, si sacramentum excludatur.

LXXIV. Causæ matrimoniales et sponsalia suaptæ natura ad forum civile pertinent.

N. B. Huc facere possunt duo alii errores: de clericorum cœlibatu abolendo et de statu matrimonii statui virginitatis anteferendo. Confodiuntur, prior

in Epist. Encycl. *Qui pluribus*, 9 Novembris 1846, posterior in Litteris Apost. *Multiplies inter*, 10 Junii 1851.

IX.

Errores de civili Romani Pontificis Principatu.

LXXV. De temporalis regni cum spirituali compatibilitate disputant inter se christianæ et catholicæ Ecclesiæ filii.

LXXVI. Abrogatio civilis imperii, quo Apostolica Sedes potitur, ad Ecclesiæ libertatem felicitatemque vel maxime conduceret.

N. B. Præter hos errores explicite notatos, alii complures implicite reprobantur proposita et asserta doctrina, quam catholici omnes firmissime retinere debeant, de civili Romani Pontificis principatu. Ejusmodi doctrina luculentur traditur in Alloc. *Quibus Quantisque*, 20 April 1849; in Alloc. *Si semper antea*, 20 Maii 1850; in Litt. Apost. *Cum catholica Ecclesia*, 26 Mart. 1860; in Alloc. *Novos*, 28 Sept. 1860; in Alloc. *Jamdudum*, 18 Mar. 1861; in Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, 9 Junii 1862.

X.

Errores qui ad Liberalismum hodiernum referuntur.

LXXVII. Aetate hac nostra non amplius expedit religionem catholicam haberi tanquam unicam status religionem, ceteris quibuscumque cultibus exclusis.

LXXVIII. Hinc laudabiliter in quibusdam catholici nominis regionibus lege cautum est, ut hominibus illuc immigrantibus liceat publicium proprii ejusque cultus exercitium habere.

LXXIX. Enimvero falsum est, civilem ejusque cultus libertatem, itemque plenam potestatem omnibus attributam qualibet opiniones cogitationesque palam publiceque manifestandi, conducere ad populorum mores animosque facilius corrumpendos, ac indifferentismi pestem propagandam.

LXXX. Romanus Pontifex potest ac debet cum progressu, cum liberalismo et cum recenti civilitate sese reconciliare et componere.

As many of our readers may be unfamiliar with the actual meaning and purport of these documents the following data are important:

ENCYCLICAL (Lat. Litteræ Encyclicæ).—According to its etymology, an Encyclical is nothing more than a circular letter. In modern times, usage has confined the term almost exclusively to certain papal documents which differ in their technical form from the ordinary style of either Bull or Briefs, and which in their superscription are explicitly addressed to the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops of the Universal Church in communion with the Apostolic See. By exception, encyclicals are also sometimes addressed to the archbishops and bishops of a particular country. Thus this name is given to the letter of Pius X (6 Jan., 1907) to the bishops of France, in spite of the fact that it was published, not in Latin, but in French; while, on the other hand, the letter "Longinqua Oceani" (5 Jan., 1895) addressed by Leo XIII to the archbishops and bishops

of the United States, is not styled an encyclical, although in all other respects it exactly observes the forms of one. From this and a number of similar facts we may probably infer that the precise designation used is not intended to be of any great significance. From the nature of the case encyclicals addressed to the bishops of the world are generally concerned with matters which affect the welfare of the Church at large. They condemn some prevalent form of error, point out dangers which threaten faith or morals, exhort the faithful to constancy, or prescribe remedies for evils foreseen or already existent. In form an encyclical at the present day begins thus—we may take the encyclical "Pascendi" on Modernism as a specimen:—

"*Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii Divina Providentia Papæ X Litteræ Encyclicæ ad Patriarchas, Primates, Archiepiscopos, Episcopos aliosque locorum Ordinarios pacem et communionem cum Apostolica Sede habentes de Modernistarum Doctrinis. Ad Patriarchas, Primates, Archiepiscopos, Episcopos aliosque locorum Ordinarios, pacem et communionem cum Apostolica Sede habentes, Pius PP. X., Venerabiles Fratres, Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Pascendi dominici gregis mandatum,*" etc.

The conclusion takes the following form:— "*Nos vero, pignus caritatis Nostræ divinique in adversis solatii, Apostolicam Benedictionem vobis, cleris, populisque vestris amentissime impertimus. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, die VIII Septembris MCMVII, Pontificatus Nostri anno quinto. Pius PP. X.*"

Although it is only during the last three pontificates that the most important utterances of the Holy See have been given to the world in the shape of encyclicals, this form of Apostolic Letter has long been in occasional use. Almost the first document published by Benedict XIV after his election was an "Epistola encyclica et comminatoria" on the duties of the episcopal office (3 Dec., 1740). Under Pius IX many momentous utterances were presented in this shape. The famous pronouncement "Quanta cura" (8 Dec., 1864), which was accompanied by a Syllabus (q. v.) of eighty anathematized errors, which was an encyclical. Another important encyclical of Pius IX, described as an "Encyclical of the Holy Office," was that beginning "Supremæ" (4 Aug., 1856) in condemnation of Spiritualism. Leo XIII published a series of encyclicals on social and other questions which attracted universal attention. We may mention especially "Inscutanilis" (21 April, 1878) on the evils of modern society; "Eterni Patris" (4 Aug., 1879) on St. Thomas Aquinas and Scholastic philosophy; "Arcanum divinæ sapientiæ" (10 Feb., 1880) on Christian marriage and family life; "Diuturnum illud" (29 June, 1881) on the origin of civil authority; "Immortale Dei" (1 Nov., 1885) on the Christian constitution of states; "Libertas præstantissimum" (20 June, 1888) on true liberty; "Rerum novarum" (16 May, 1891) on the labor question; "Providentissimus Deus" (18 Nov., 1893) on Holy Scripture; "Statu cognitum" (29 June, 1896) on religious unity. Pius X has shown the same favour for this form of document, e. g. in his earnest commendation of catechetical instruction "Acerbo nimis" (15 April, 1906) his address on the centenary of St. Gregory the Great (12 March, 1904), his first letter to the clergy and faithful of France, "Vehementer nos" (11 Feb.,

1906), his instructions on intervention in politics to the people of Italy, and in the pronouncement of Modernism already mentioned.

Two officials presiding over separate bureaux still count it among their duties to aid the Holy Father in the drafting of his encyclical letters. These are the "Segretario dei brevi ai Principi" assisted by two *minutanti*, and the "Segretario delle lettere Latine" also with a *minutante*. But it was undoubtedly the habit of Leo XIII to write his own encyclicals, and it is plainly within the competence of the sovereign pontiff to dispense with the services of any subordinates.

As for the binding force of these documents it is generally admitted that the mere fact that the pope should have given to any of his utterances the form of an encyclical does not necessarily constitute it an *ex cathedra* pronouncement and invest it with infallible authority. The degree in which the infallible magisterium of the Holy See is committed must be judged from the circumstances, and from the language used in the particular case. In the early centuries the term encyclical was applied, not only to papal letters, but to certain letters emanating from bishops or archbishops. Such letters addressed by a bishop to all his subjects in general are now commonly called pastorals. Amongst Anglicans, however, the name encyclical has recently been revived and applied, in imitation of papal usage, to circular letters issued by the English primates. Thus the reply of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to the papal condemnation of Anglican Orders (this condemnation, "*Apostolicæ Cursæ*," took the form of a Bull) was styled by its authors the Encyclical "*Sæpius Officio*."

Little has been written professedly on the subject of encyclical, which in treatises on canon law are generally grouped with other Apostolic Letters. The work of BENCINI, *De Literis Encyclicis Dissertatio* (Turin, 1728), deals almost exclusively with the early church documents which were styled; see, however, HILGENREINER in *Kirchliches Handlexikon* (Munich, 1907), 1, 1310; and GOYAU, *Le Vatican* (Paris, 1898), p. 336; WYNNE, *The Great Encyclical Letters of Leo XIII* (New York, 1903); EYRE, *The Pope and the People* (London, 1897); and D'ARROS, *Leon XIII d'après ses Encycliques* (Paris, 1902). On the authority of encyclicals and similar papal documents, see especially the very useful book of CHOUPIN, *Valeur des Décisions Doctrinales et Disciplinaires du Saint-Siège* (Paris, 1907); cf. BAINVEL, *De Magisterio vivo et Traditione* (Paris, 1905).

HERBERT THURSTON,

(in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. pp. 414 ff.)

SYLLABUS ("collection") is the name given to two series of propositions containing modern religious errors condemned respectively by Pius IX (1864) and Pius X (1907).

1. The Syllabus of Pius IX.—The first impulse towards the drawing up of the Syllabus of Pius IX came from the Provincial Council of

Spoletto in 1449. Probably on the motion of the Cardinal Archbishop of Perugia, Pecci (Later on Leo XIII), a petition was laid before Pius IX to bring together under the form of a Constitution the chief errors of the time and to condemn them. The preparation began in 1852. At first Pius IX entrusted it to Cardinal Fornari, but in 1854 the Commission which had prepared the Bull on the Immaculate Conception took matters in hand. It is not known how far the preparation had advanced when Gerbet, Bishop of Perpignan, issued, in July 1860, a "Pastoral Instruction on various errors of the present" to his clergy. With Gerbet's "Instruction" begins the second phase of the introductory history of the Syllabus. The "Instruction" had grouped the errors in eighty-five theses, and it pleased the pope so much, that he set it down as the groundword upon which a fresh commission, under the presidency of Cardinal Caterini, was to labour. The result of their work was a specification, or cataloguing of sixty-one errors with the theological qualifications. In 1862 the whole was laid for examination before three hundred bishops who, on the occasion of the canonization of the Japanese Martyrs, had assembled in Rome. They appear to have approved the list of theses in its essentials. Unfortunately, a weekly paper Turin, "*Il Mediatore*," hostile to the Church, published the wording and qualifications of the theses, and thereby gave rise to a far-reaching agitation against the Church. The pope allowed the storm to subside; he withheld the promulgation of these theses, but kept to his plan in what was essential.

The third phase of the introductory history of the Syllabus begins with the appointment of a new commission by Pius IX; its most prominent member was the Barnabite (afterwards Cardinal) Bilio. The commission took the wording of the errors to be condemned from the official declarations of Pope Pius IX and appended to each of the eighty theses a reference indicating its content, so as to determine the true meaning and the theological value of the subjects treated. With that the preparation for the Syllabus, having occupied twelve years, was brought to an end. Of the twenty-eight points which Cardinal Fornari had drawn up in 1852, twenty-two retained their places in the Syllabus; of the sixty-one theses which had been laid before the episcopate for examination in 1862, thirty were selected. The promulgation, according to the original plan, was to have taken place simultaneously with the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception; in the event it was ten years later (8 December, 1864) that Pius IX published the Encyclical "*Quanta Cura*," and on the same day, by commission of the Pope, the secretary of State, Cardinal Antonelli, sent, together with an official communication, to all the bishops the list of theses condemned by the Holy See. The title of the document was: "A Syllabus containing the most important errors of our time, which have been condemned by our Holy Father Oius IX in Allocutions, at Consistories, in Encyclicals, and other Apostolic Letters."

The reception of the Syllabus among Catholics was assured through the love and obedience which the children of the Church bear towards the vicar of Christ in earth. They were, besides, prepared for its contents by the various announcements of the pope during the eighteen years of his pontificate; and, as a matter of fact, no sooner had it made its appearance than it was solemnly

received in national and provincial councils by the episcopate of the whole world. Among the enemies of the Church, no papal utterance had stirred up such a commotion for many years; they saw in the Syllabus a formal rejection of modern culture, the pope's declaration of war on the modern State. In Russia, France, and also in those parts of Italy then subject to Victor Emmanuel, its publication was forbidden. Bismarck and other statesmen of Europe declared themselves against it. And to the present day, it is a stumbling-block to all who favour the licence of false Liberalism.

The general contents of the Syllabus are summed up in the headings of the ten paragraphs, under which the eighty theses are grouped. They are: Pantheism, Naturalism, Absolute Rationalism (1-7); Moderate Rationalism (8-14); Indifferentism and false Tolerance in Religious matters (15-18); Socialism, Communism, Secret Societies, Bible Societies, Liberal Clerical Associations (reference is made to three Encyclicals and two Allocutions of the pope, in which these tendencies are condemned). Errors regarding the Church and its rights (19-38); Errors on the State and its Relation to the Church (39-55); Errors on Natural and Christian Ethics (56-64); Errors on Christian Marriage (65-74); Errors on the Temporal Power of the Pope (75-76); Errors in Connection with Modern Liberalism (77-80); The content of any one thesis of the Syllabus is to be determined according to the laws of scientific interpretation. First of all, one has to refer to the papal documents connected with each thesis. For, in accordance with the peculiar character of the Syllabus, the meaning of the thesis is determined by the meaning of the document it is drawn from. Thus the oft-cited eightieth thesis, "The pope may and must reconcile himself with, and adapt himself to, Progress, Liberalism, and Modern Civilization," is to be explained with the help of the Allocution "*Jamdulum Cernimus*" of 18 March, 1861. In this allocution the pope expressly distinguishes between true and false civilization, and declares that history witnesses to the fact that the Holy See has always been the protector and patron of all genuine civilization; and he affirms that, if a system designed to de-Christianize the world be called a system of progress and civilization, he can never hold out the hand of peace to such a system. According to the words of this allocution, then, it is evident that the eightieth thesis of the Syllabus applies to false progress and false Liberalism and not to honest pioneer-work seeking to open out new fields to human activity.

Moreover, should a thesis, according to the papal references, be taken from a condemned book, the meaning of the thesis is to be determined according to that which it has in the condemned book. For the thesis has been condemned in this particular meaning and not in any other which might possibly be read into its wording. For instance, the fifteenth thesis, "Everyone is free to adopt and profess that religion which he, guided by the light of reason, holds to be true," admits in itself of a right interpretation. For man can and must be led to the knowledge of the true religion through the light of reason. However, on consulting the Apostolic Letter "*Multiplices inter*," dated 10 June, 1851, from which this thesis is taken, it will be found that not every possible meaning is rejected, but only that particular meaning which, in 1848, Vigil, a Peruvian

priest, attacked to it in his "Defensa." Influenced by Indifferentism and Rationalism, Vigil maintained that man is to trust to his own human reason only and not to a Divine reason, i. e. to the truthful and omniscient God who in supernatural revelation vouches for the truth of a religion. In the sense in which Vigil's book understands the fifteenth thesis, and in this sense alone does the Syllabus understand and condemn the proposition.

The view held by the Church in opposition to each thesis is contained in the contradictory proposition of each of the condemned thesis. This opposition is formulaed, in accordance with the rules of dialectics, by prefixing to each proposition the words: "It is not true that. . ." The doctrine of the Church which corresponds, for instance, to the fourteenth thesis is as follows: "It is not true, that 'philosophy must be treated independently of supernatural revelation.'" In itself no opposition is so sharply determined as by the contradictory it is simply the negation of the foregoing statement. However, the practical use of this negation is not always easy, especially if a compound or dependent sentence is in question, or a theoretical error is concealed under the form of an historical fact. If, as for instance in thesis 42, the proposition, that in a conflict between civil and ecclesiastical laws the rights of the State should prevail, be condemned, then it does not follow from this thesis, that in every conceivable case of conflicting laws the greater right is with the church. If, as in thesis 45, it be denied that the entire control of the public schools belongs exclusively to the State, then it is not maintained that their control does in no way concern the State, but only the Church. If the Modern claim of general separation between Church and State is rejected, as in thesis 55, it does not follow that separation is not permissible in any case. If it be false to say that matrimony by its very nature is subject to the civil power (thesis 74), it is not necessarily correct to assert that it is in no way subject to the State. While thesis 77 condemns the statement that in our time it is no longer expedient to consider the catholic religion as the only State religion to the exclusion of all other cults, it follows merely that to-day also the exclusion of non-Catholic cults may prove expedient, if certain conditions be realized.

The importance of the Syllabus lies in its opposition to the high tide of that intellectual movement of the nineteenth century which strove to sweep away the foundations of all human and Divine order. The Syllabus is not only the defence of the inalienable rights of God, of the Church, and of truth against the abuse of the words *freedom* and *culture* on the part of unbridled Liberalism, but it is also a protest, earnest and energetic, against the attempt to eliminate the influence of the Catholic Church on the life of nations and of individuals, on the family and school. In its nature, it is true, the Syllabus is negative and condemnatory; but it received its complement in the decisions of the Vatican Council and in the Encyclicals of Leo XIII. It is precisely its fearless character that perhaps accounts for its influence on the life of the Church towards the end of the nineteenth century; for it threw a sharp, clear light upon reef and rock in the intellectual currents of the time.

DENZINGER, *Enchiridion*, No. 1700 sqq.; No. 2001 sqq.; "The Doctrinal Authority of the Syllabus" in *The Catholic World*, XXII (New York, 1886), 31; WARD, *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, II (London, 1912); GLADSTONE, *Rome and the Newest Fashions in Religion* (London, 1875); NEWMAN, *Letters to the Duke of Norfolk on Occasion of Mr. Gladstone's Recent Exposition* (London, 1875); MANNING, *The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance* (London, 1875), another reply to Gladstone; MACCAFFREY, *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century* (St. Louis, 1910), 1, 249, 438; 440, 487; 11, 60, 462, 480; CHOUPIŃ, *Valeur des décisions* (Paris, 1907); HOURAT, *Le Syllabus* (Paris, 1904); HEINER, *Der Syllabus in ultramontaner und anti-ultramontaner Beleuchtung* (Mainz, 1905); RINALDI, *Il valore del Syllabo* (Rome, 1888); HEINER, *Der neue Syllabus* (Mainz, 1907); BESSMER, *Philosophie und Theologie des Modernismus* (Freiburg, 1912); VILLADA, *Razon y Fé* XIX, 154; LEPIN, *Les theories de M. Loisy* (Paris, 1908).

A. HAA~

(in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. XIV., pp. 368 ff.)

CHRONICLE

The Catholic University of America, which a prominent European, in a recent letter to the writer, terms "la pépinière de l'action Catholique," was host to a representative gathering of Catholics interested in international relations, on April 19-21. The outcome of the meeting was the organization of *The Catholic Association for International Peace*. At the opening public meeting the Right Rev. Bishop Shahan, Rector of the University, delivered a brief address which we have the privilege of reproducing in its entirety:

There is in the world to-day no power more ardently devoted to peace than the Catholic Church.

Peace is her atmosphere, so to speak. She is primarily a spiritual power, and as such is ever hostile to war, and all its causes and conditions. Her Founder is the Prince of Peace. His gospel of charity, unity and peace is her charter through the ages, as it is the world's first and last guarantee of peace. Her history is a long assertion of the duty and the benefits of peace. She has been ever ingenious in creating a spirit of peace and the means by which it may be secured and maintained. Arbitration, in all its forms and phases, was her work for a thousand years.

In an age of blood and iron she imposed the Truce of God, and similar political devices for the relief of the peasant and the poor man. She approved and protected the Third Order of Saint Francis, which dealt a death-blow to militant feudalism.

For centuries her messengers, the legates of Peter, trod every highway of Europe, in the interests of peace and often prevailed. After all, she is a natural peacemaker, being the only power that is at once universal impartial, and unselfish. When the great war broke out, it was to the Church that turned quite spontaneously the heart of mankind, and when Benedict XV raised his authoritative voice that heart applauded, and cherished the hope that the immemorial tradition of the papacy would be sustained.

During the Vatican Council David Urquhart, a life-long advocate of peace and international justice, appealed to Pius IX to proclaim anew the law of nations, those fundamental concepts of justice and equity that the Church alone had preserved in theory, and was alone capable of applying in a world distracted by jealousy, avarice, greed, envy, hate, and all the root-causes of war.

What other power can hope to conjure the dread spectre of ultra-nationalism that menaces our modern civilization with its vast arsenals, its exhaustive taxes, its prostitution of the applied sciences, and its scorn of all logic and reason? Not one decade has gone by since the close of the great war, and yet war remains practically the only guarantee of international justice that governments and peoples have yet been able to ex-cogitate.

Nor are the nations likely to make real progress in the "way of peace" until they shed the fatal philosophy of life that they have adopted as good and sufficient.

Of this philosophy of life, the fruitful parent of all war, materialism, naturalism, hedonism, the Church has ever been the foe and must ever remain such.

The National Capital is eminently suited to your deliberations. Its spirit has always been one of peace and justice; hence have gone forth the will and the power to maintain an unbroken brotherly friendship along the world's greatest border lines of land and water. It is the Amphictyon of humanity.

Here you will see the noble monument of the Pan-American Union dedicated to the maintenance of peace in the New World, and serving that holy cause with tireless industry. Here are gathered in great amity the representatives of all the nations of the earth, perhaps the largest body of such national representatives.

In a word Washington is a conjure-word in the modern history of peace, and nowhere is its ultimate triumph more desired or more earnestly sought than in this Capital City of a nation that has greatly thriven on peace and earnestly desires to secure it at home and abroad by every practical means.

During three sessions of the meeting preliminary reports from three sub-committees on "International Ethics" (chairman, Rev. John A. Ryan, D. D., Catholic University of America); "Sources of Enmity," (chairman, Dr. Parker T. Moon, Columbia University); "Conditions and Means of Furthering International Friendship," (chairman, Dr. Charles D. Fenwick, Bryn Mawr College). All three of these have written extensively on the respective subjects.

The purpose and objects of the Association are set forth in the Constitution as follows:

The objects and purposes of this association shall be to study, disseminate and apply the principles of natural law and Christian charity to international problems of the day; to consider the moral and legal aspects of any action which may be proposed or advocated in the international sphere; to examine and consider issues which bear upon international good-will; to encourage the formation of conferences, lectures and study circles with the view of educating Catholic opinion upon subjects relating to international morality and of acquainting, as far as possible, the general public with the Church's teachings upon these matters; to issue reports on questions of international importance; to consider and arrange for the publication of literature of both advanced and popular character upon the laws of nations, the international duties of Christian charity, and the bearing of scholastic philosophy upon such problems; and to arrange for the publication, in the Catholic and secular press, of selected articles by Catholic writers of different countries, and to further, by co-operation with similar Catholic organizations abroad, in accord with the teachings of the Church, the object and purposes of world peace and happiness. The ultimate purpose of the association shall be to promote, in conformity with the mind of the Church, "the peace of Christ in the reign of Christ."

The officers are: Honorary President, Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, rector of the Catholic University of America; president, Judge Martin T. Manton, of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, New York City; vice-presidents: Rev. Moorhouse I. X. Millar, S.J., of Fordham University, New York City; William Franklin Sands, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Charles C. Miltner, C.S.C., of Notre Dame University; Frederick P. Kenkel of the Central Bureau of the Central Verein, St. Louis; Dr. Herbert F. Wright, Washington, D. C.; Miss Anna Dill Gamble, York, Pa., a national director of the National Council of Catholic Women; Rev. John A. Ryan, D.D., of the Social Action Department, N. C. W. C.; and Colonel P. H. Callahan, Louisville, Ky. Mr. E. Francis Riggs of Washington is the secretary. The office of treasurer was left vacant temporarily.

The future work of the organization according to a report of the Procedure Committee adopted by the gathering will consist for a time of the preparation and presentation to the organization of sub-committee reports. These reports will be entitled reports to the organization and not reports of the organization to obviate the belief that might arise that the reports represent the conclusions of the organization itself.

Additional sub-committees on regional problems such as those of Latin America, Europe, Asia, were ordered by the association. Still another sub-committee to clear up the conflicting terminology of morals and law is to be appointed. The executive committee was instructed also to appoint a sub-committee on including peace education in the schools and to collect information on the programs of Catholic peace organizations abroad.

Dr. Richard J. Purcell, Associate Professor of History at the Catholic University of America, and Associate Editor of the *Catholic Historical Review*, is one of the sixty-three American scholars and artists granted fellowships for work abroad by the trustees of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

There were 600 applicants this year for the 63 awards, which are made annually to scholars and artists who have demonstrated unusual capacity for productive scholarship or unusual creative ability. Recipients of the awards are financed for a year's study abroad.

Dr. Purcell is one of the younger members of the Catholic University faculty but already has an exceptional record of scholarship to his credit. He took his A.B. and M.A. degrees at the University of Minnesota in 1910 and 1911, studied in England in 1911 and 1912, and was a fellow and assistant in the Graduate School of Yale from 1912 to 1916. In the latter year Yale awarded him the Addison Porter prize for the highest scholarship in his field, American history. In the same year the American Historical Association awarded him the Justin Winsor prize for his book, *Connecticut in Transition (1776-1818)*.

Receiving his Ph.D. degree from Yale in 1916, he went to St. Thomas College, St. Paul, where he taught history and government until 1920, when he came to the Catholic University as an instructor. In 1922 he was advanced to associate

professor. He also has held the rank of professor at the Catholic Sisters College since 1921.

The subject, "A Study of Irish Immigration to the United States from 1790 to 1860," to which Dr. Purcell will devote his year of study abroad under the award, is very important.

At the annual meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society, held on May 9 at the Catholic Church, New York, under the presidency of His Eminence Cardinal Hayes, Dr. Guilday delivered the formal address. The topic was "John England, Catholic Champion." The address will be printed in the next issue of *Records and Studies*.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Cardinal Hayes thanked Dr. Guilday for presenting such "a valuable, inspiring, and informative paper."

"I wish," said the Cardinal, "our public press would realize that the present situation in regard to intolerance is not a new one, but that it seems to us as old as the country itself. It is a pity that it is so. When the chapter on 'Intolerance' in our country is finally closed and sealed forever, then I believe that a tribute will be paid to the Catholic Church in America—that she has never been intolerant.

"We have always been tolerant in every sense to our fellow-citizens. The Catholic Church in America has always taught her children to practice tolerance in a spirit of Christian charity toward our fellow-citizens irrespective of their creed."

The Holy Father has shown particular interest in the Christian Archaeology of Rome since the first days of his Pontificate.

At an early date steps were taken at the Catacombs to provide suitable vestments for the commemoration of feasts connected with them. Then His Holiness organised the two existing Pontifical Commissions on Archaeology and encouraged students of all countries to take up research regarding the monuments of early Christianity.

To further this important branch of Christian study, the Holy Father ordered the construction of a special building in Via Napoleon III., near St. Mary Major's, to be known as the Pontifical Institute of Christian Archaeology.

The institute has been placed under the direction of Mgr. G. B. Kirsch, of the University of Friburg. Lectures have already been delivered there, and it seems probable that all matters connected with the great Catacomb of San Calisto, in the Via Appia Antiqua, will be vested in the authorities of the institute.

The Catholic University of Louvain has just celebrated its 500th anniversary. On December 9, 1425, Pope Martin V. signed the bull for the foundation, on Sept. 7, 1426, John IV., Duke of Brabant, solemnly opened the school and on Oct. 6 the professors gave their first lectures. The jubilee celebrations had

been postponed until this year, because the "American Library," which is to be dedicated at the same time, could not be completed until this year for lack of money.

At present, the university includes students from forty-three nations. Among the names of those who have helped to make the University of Louvain famous are the erudite scholars, Erasmus and Justus Lipsius; the botanist, Rembert Dodoens; the anatomist, Andreas Vesalius; the physicist, Minkelers, who discovered coal gas; the neurologist, Van Gehuchten, the Belgian founder of cell biology, and finally, Cardinal Mercier.

The Chilean Embassy at Washington has issued a statement that the new decrees of the Chilean Government do not constitute "an attack upon the Catholic doctrine or Church."

"The Constitutional reform of 1925 brought about the friendly separation of Church and State. The order referred to by the correspondents (of the daily papers) would apply only to those ecclesiastics who were serving as chaplains with the armed forces or as teachers in the public schools, since those in charge of worship have been given, in a transitory provision of the Constitution of 1925, a subsidy of 2,500,000 pesos annually, to be paid during a period of five years to His Grace the Archbishop of Santiago as the head of the Catholic Church in Chile, a provision intended to facilitate the transition of the Catholic Church from a protected organization into an independent entity.

"The best evidence that the measure does not entail an attack upon the Catholic doctrine or Church, to which belongs almost the entire population, can be found in the fact that the ecclesiastics are empowered to continue their religious teachings in the public schools, not as part of the official curriculum nor as salaried officials of the Government, but as private citizens and in perfect equality with the ministers of other denominations.

"Furthermore, the measure has not affected in the least the existing regime of the institutions of public charity maintained by the State, to which the members of different Catholic religious orders continue to give their valuable and humanitarian services; neither has it deprived the Catholic schools of the subsidies contributed by the State for the maintenance of private undertakings in the field of education."

Father Charles T. Corcoran, L.J., in a sympathetic article in *America* (April 9) says of the late Mgr. Holweck, who was one of our earliest and most loyal friends:

He was our foremost American hagiographer, a scholar of international reputation. . . . In his *Biographical Dictionary of the Saints* and his *Calendarium Liturgicum* he has left to posterity what has been truly styled "a complete *festivale*," a substantial addition to ecclesiastical literature. These two works are an accomplishment that any scholar might well be proud of. They will serve a useful purpose wherever there is a spark

of interest in hagiography, and a grateful posterity will bless the name of the humble scholarly priest who gave them to the world.

Mgr. Holweck, however, had another and a more farsighted purpose in producing these two works. He felt that he was only breaking ground for future scholars to till and cultivate. The field of hagiography, affecting as it does the martyrology, the breviary and the biographies of the saints, is a very extensive and a very fertile one. Much, it is true, has already been accomplished by Catholic scholars. But much, very much still remains to be done. It was the often-expressed hope of the late Monsignor that in the years to come, younger hands would bravely catch up the torch that fell from his grasp so that the great work to which he devoted his life should little by little be carried to completion.

Anti-Catholicism in France has for long been pursued with a reckless disregard of public extravagance scarcely less outrageous than the injustice which it involves. In reply to a question by Senator Colonel Josse, the Education Minister has given figures which show how very large is the number of State schools which are maintained at the taxpayers' expense in districts where the vast majority of parents refuse to send their children elsewhere than to the "fre" Catholic schools, which are entirely supported by their own voluntary subscriptions.

The official figures show that there are nearly 1,200 such schools in France which have no pupils whatever. In twenty-one of these there is a school master or mistress who has no work to do, while the teachers of 220 others have had to be detached for other work. Even in the case of the 941 schools which have neither pupils nor staff the taxpayers have to provide for the upkeep of school buildings which are not used but are kept on the chance that some parent may wish his children to be sent to a State school in the district.

An even greater number of these undenominational schools have so few pupils that their existence at the expense of the taxpayers is impossible to justify. The Education Ministry has given the following astounding totals of State schools which have less than six pupils in each school:

Boys' Schools	77
Girls' Schools	484
Co-educational	915

Colonel Josse tried to find out how many of these schools have less than three pupils but was told that the information is not available.

The figures show what a vast waste of expenditure is involved, while the Catholics are denied even a subsidy for their own schools, which, in many places, educate almost every child in the district.

Of the 2,822 priests in China, 1,184 are natives of that country, according to statistics compiled for the *Universe* by Dom Maternus Spitz, O.S.B., one of

the greatest authorities on foreign missions. The secular press invariably speak of the "Jesuit Missions," although the Paris Foreign Missions have the largest number of clergy in China, and have charge of the greatest number of Vicariates.

Missionary Societies.	Number of Vicariates.	Foreign priests.	Native Priests	Catholics	Catechumens.
Paris Foreign Miss.	14	312	298	340,246	42,869
Franciscans	12	297	183	325,968	143,273
Lazarists	12	183	392	721,384	55,779
Scheut	6	172	50	138,203	35,165
Milan	5	86	40	110,080	27,404
Dominicans	4	77	34	70,281	7,055
Jesuits	3	213	126	422,234	64,905
Society of the Divine World	3	98	35	118,047	41,961
Chinese Secular Priests	1	1	8	1,243	3,166
Augustinians	1	38	2	16,531	11,284
Benedictines	1	11	—	11,089	692
Capuchins	1	14	2	4,527	2,314
Irish Missionaires (Maynooth)	1	29	2	18,597	—
Maryknoll Missions, (Amer.)	1	22	—	6,076	1,718
Passionists	1	26	—	1,978	4,974
Salesians	1	16	1	3,390	—
Parma Mis. Soc.	1	20	—	15,936	9,000
Secular Priests of Macao	1	39	11	12,030	—
Total	69	1,638	1,184	2,337,951	451,559

These figures compiled from *Missions en Chine* are a little different from those which are published in *Die Katholischen Missionen* (April, 1927); *Die China Mission*, 1906-1925. According to the latter there were in China in 1906; 1,248 foreign and 562 native priests, or a total of 1,810 priests for 983,058 Catholics, whilst in 1925-26 there were 1,776 foreign and 1,182 native priests; a total of 2,958 for 2,340,339 native Catholics. The difference is explained by the fact that some of the foreign priests in charge of the missionary "procures" are not included in the list of missionaries.

The number of "69 Vicariates," including the bishopric of Macao and eleven Prefectures Apostolic, is not complete either. The six Chinese bishops, who were consecrated on October 28, 1926, four of whom will be at the head of the newly erected Vicariates of Fenyang, Haimew, Taichow, and Yunanhu-fu, are not included in the figures. The Catholic Mission in China had at the end of 1926 61 Vicariates and 12 Prefectures Apostolic. In the section of Mission Societies the following are not included: the Mission of the S. Heart Fathers of Betharam (Yunnan), the Piepus Fathers (Pakhoi), the Salvatorians (Chaowufu), the Society of Steyl in Sinyangchow, the Swiss Missionaries of Bethlehem (Kioni), that of the Italian Conventuals (Hanchowfu), the Mission of the St. Francis Xavier's Seminary of Quebec (Mongolia), that of the Hilltrup Missionaries of

the Most S. Heart (Kweichew), etc. "China in Transition" will probably see some more changes once the present crisis is over as Propaganda intends to erect some seventy new Vicariates and Prefectures.

Says the *Boston Pilot*, (May 7):

The Holy Father paid a tribute to American Catholic education when he called upon Catholic universities and colleges in the United States to provide scholarships by which young men and young women from Russia might equip themselves here for the rehabilitation of their own country. The preference shown by His Holiness to the Catholic educational institutions of the United States is not merely a recognition of their material prosperity and the generosity of their authorities, but a genuine tribute to the breadth and efficiency of their curricula and to the scholarship of their faculties. For no one will be ready to believe that in providing for the training of these young men and women whose task is primarily the spiritual revival of Russia he could have subordinated the religious and spiritual to the purely material and secular benefits of their education here.

Catholic America has long been making heavy drafts upon the scholarship and culture of Catholic Europe. Large numbers of American Catholics have been attending European schools of higher learning and all the while Europe has been supplying America with teachers from these same schools. There have been, as it were, two streams of European education and culture flowing westward across the Atlantic—one of them European teachers coming for the first time and the other American students returning. Very much of this contribution has been made to Catholic institutions.

Only recently a noted German educator declared that Catholic education in America had the vigor of the new world with the riches of the old. He was particularly impressed by the esteem in which Catholic education was everywhere held in this country. This led him to predict that before many generations European Catholics would be looking to America for whatever was of good repute in scholarship as once American Catholics turned to Europe for the best.

Now the Holy Father, one of the world's greatest living savants, asks the schools of the United States to give their scholarship to a nation a thousand years older than their own. Generous America will rise to the occasion, and give a whole hearted response to the Pope's appeal, issued through the Catholic Near East Welfare Association to the Catholic schools and colleges of the United States.

The Catholic Anthropological Conference held its second annual meeting at the Catholic University of America in Washington during Easter week and decided upon the publication of a quarterly bulletin which will serve as a harmonizer and stimulant to its work.

It was disclosed at the meeting that there is a great dearth of Catholic works on the social sciences and that there is need for the introduction of courses in anthropology into the curricula of Catholic colleges. It was agreed that one of the aims of the bulletin will be the correction of these conditions.

All of the officers were re-elected for another term. The Rt. Rev. Bishop Thomas J. Shahan, rector of the Catholic University of America, is president, and the Rev. John M. Cooper, Ph.D., of the Catholic University, is secretary-treasurer. The Executive Board is composed of the Rt. Rev. Msgr. William Hughes, director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions; the Very Rev. Michael A. Mathis, C.S.C., Superior of the Foreign Mission Seminary of Holy Cross; the Rev. Albert Muntsch, S.J., of St. Louis University; the Rt. Rev. William Quinn, National Director of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, and the Rev. Leopold J. Tibesar, A.F.M., of Maryknoll, Japan.

The chief aim of the Conference, briefly, is "the advancement of anthropological science through: (1) the promotion of ethnological training for candidates for mission work; (2) the promotion of anthropological research and publication by Catholic missionaries, specialists and other students." This involves the co-operation of missionaries already in the field and the training of seminarians likely to enter mission work. It will be the purpose of the quarterly bulletin to stimulate the missionaries to anthropological inquiry and writing, guided by technical knowledge disseminated by the Conference. At the same time the bulletin will carry practical lessons in anthropological technique for the seminarians and seek to stir a widespread interest in anthropological science.

Dr. Cooper told the meeting that there has been an amazing development in the interest taken by secular colleges of this country in anthropology in the last five years. He said, however, that students, Catholics included, are running into texts upon the subject which not only are un-Catholic, but also unscientific. It was declared from the floor that some of the texts used in secular colleges are decidedly un-Catholic and that some steps should be taken to counteract this evil by the teaching of acceptable courses in Catholic schools.

Bishop Shahan opened the meeting and welcomed the members. He called attention to the great work already done by Catholic missionaries to the benefit of science and told the members of the Conference that "instead of being pioneers, you are really last-comers in the very noble work to which you have put your hand. . . . You are really only the successors of those who have gone before." Bishop Shahan declared that the work of the Conference is very important and one destined to shed much honor upon the Church throughout the world.

Dr. Cooper read a report of the year's activities showing that the following religious orders and societies have been added to the membership in the last year: White Fathers of Quebec, Belgian Foreign Missionaries of the Philippines, Missionary Fathers of the Sacred Heart, Mariannahill Fathers, Society of the Divine Word, Society of St. Columban for Missions in China, St. Vincent's Archabbey (Benedictine), Franciscans of California Province, Capuchins of Nicaragua, Foreign Mission Sisters of St. Dominic, Sisters of the Holy Cross, and the

Society of Catholic Medical Missions. Active assistance has also been given by the Catholic Church Extension society, he said.

He pointed out that at the 1926 meeting one of the two main objectives was affirmed to be the listing of and the establishment of contact with those missionaries in the field or Catholic specialists in ethnology and linguistics on this side of the Atlantic who are already interested or would be interested in the aims of the Conference. In this connection, he reported, complete data have been obtained as to virtually all missionaries in North America, north of the Mexican border to the Arctic, and those in the northern Philippine Islands. A good beginning also has been made for China, the South Seas and India, with only scattered data for other regions. "In all," he said, "we have the names of about 130 missionaries who are specially qualified."

The second main objective set up was the gathering of manuscript material for publication, he said. In this connection he reported encouraging progress. "In general," he stated, "it may be said that the work of the conference has proceeded smoothly and advanced very satisfactorily. . . . We are building on a secure basis, and feel convinced that the conference is solidly established, and that its future looks most promising."

His Grace, Most Rev. Robert Seton, Archbishop of Heliopolis and grandson of Mother Seton, foundress of the Sisters of Charity in the United States, died on March 22 at the College of Saint Elizabeth, Morristown, N. J., where he had spent his recent years in retirement. He was 87 years old.

Archbishop Seton was born in Pisa, Italy, and received his education in Rome. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1865. He served in this country as a priest in Elizabeth and Jersey City. He later returned to Rome and was consecrated in the Eternal City in 1903 as Archbishop of Heliopolis.

His Grace was at one time a lecturer at the Catholic University of America and Seton Hall College. He was the author of a number of books, including memoirs of his distinguished grandmother.

Switzerland has a population of less than four millions. Of these, 1,585,000 are Catholics, 41 per cent. of the whole nation. In several cantons the Catholics form the mass of the people; in others they are a small, scattered flock. There are three languages spoken in different parts of the country—French in the west, German in the centre and north, and Italian in the south. These conditions make the creation of a Catholic Press a complicated problem, as no paper or periodical can expect to circulate through the whole country. Nevertheless, during recent years the organization of the Catholic Press has made considerable progress. According to recent statistics, there are no less than twenty Catholic dailies. Of these fifteen are published in German, four in French, and one in Italian. The total circulation of them all amounts to 104,000 copies daily. Besides these there are twenty-five newspapers appearing three or four times each week, and thirty-five appearing either as weeklies or with a week-end and

mid-week edition. There are eighty periodicals (sixty-three in German, twelve in French, four in Italian and one in the Romansch dialect). Their aggregate circulation is 248,000. This does not include about seventy minor religious periodicals, mostly monthly, among them several parish magazines, bulletins of confraternities and the like.

Dr. Adolf Deissmann, of Berlin University, who took part in the researches on the site of Ephesus last autumn, contributes to the *Christian World* an interesting account of the results so far obtained, with the welcome announcement that the excavations are to be continued this year. Last year's work occupied three months of fine autumn weather. The first stage of it revealed numerous vestiges of the pagan city, including sculptures and inscriptions throwing light on the development of the worship of "the great Diana of the Ephesians." A beginning was made with the excavation and exploration of what appears to be a vast early Christian cemetery, on the catacomb plan. Some progress has also been made in clearing the accumulated debris of centuries from the ruins of the early church of the Seven Martyrs (known in legend as the "Seven Sleepers of Ephesus") and Justinian's great basilica of St. John, where the Council of Ephesus held its sessions. As to the catacombs, Dr. Deissmann tells of immense numbers of early Christian burial places, often grouped near the tomb of some saint or martyr. Every type of tomb found in the Roman catacombs is there, from ornamental arched tombs or acrosolia, to tiers of narrow loculi; horizontal niches in the sides of the galleries. An immense number of inscriptions was found, and many minor objects, including 170 different kinds of lamps, many of them bearing the monogram of the Holy Name or the cross as a decoration. It is to be hoped that before long photographs will be available, and, above all, copies of the inscriptions.

The annual dinner of the clerical members of the Clerical Alumni Association of the Catholic University of America was held Wednesday night at the Bellevue-Stratford on April 20.

His Eminence, the Cardinal, bestowed high praise for the efforts being made to bring the university into the foremost rank of American educational institutions in his address of welcome. He urged that the work be prosecuted with unflagging vigor and supported by everyone who had the true ideals of education at heart.

The Rev. William J. Lallou, of the faculty of the Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo, Overbrook, presided at the dinner. He called attention to the long list of distinguished graduates which the university has turned out in its twenty-nine years of existence, twenty-five of whom have become Bishops and one a Cardinal.

Bishop Shahan, Rector of the University, recited the additions which have been made to the institution in the last few years and sketched several of the improvements to be made in the near future. A new library had been added

capable of holding 1,000,000 volumes, he said, a new church seating 2,000, and a new auditorium, an addition to the Maloney Chemical Laboratory.

The Rev. Francis P. Duffy, the "fighting chaplain" of the One Hundred and Sixty-fifth Regiment of the Forty-Second Division, talked on the prevalent belief among some non-Catholics that priests dabble in politics. "But," he added, "the dictum that no minister of religion should be in politics applies to all clergymen, non-Catholic as well as Catholic. It is rather surprising to find sometimes that those most rabid in crying about Catholics in politics are themselves the worst offenders."

Father Duffy declared that Americans had great reason to be proud of their Constitution because of its grant of complete freedom to worship.

The election of officers was a feature of the business meeting, which preceded the dinner. The Very Rev. Dr. Patrick J. McCormack, Dean of Catholic Sisters College at the university, was elected president in succession to the late Very Rev. Monsignor Joseph L. J. Kirlin; the Rev. John Sullivan, of Central Falls, R. I., was elected vice-president, and the Rev. Dr. Bernard A. McKenna, director of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, was named secretary-treasurer. The next meeting will be held in Washington.

Delegates were present from Philadelphia, New York, Cincinnati, Brooklyn, New Hampshire, Long Island, Bellefont, Pa., and Providence, R. I.

The Abbé Viollet, the distinguished new sociologist, was recently chosen by the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, as the recipient of the Marie-Laurent prize for work which has best furthered the social progress of his contemporaries. This is the first time that the prize of 40,000 francs, the highest in this field of work, has been awarded.

The Abbé Viollet, who delivered a very constructive address on the subject of the church and social work, at the National Conference of Social Work in Washington in 1923, has for many years devoted himself entirely to this field. Among the works founded by him are: "The League Against the Tenement"; the activities of Montrouge for the construction of workmen's houses; the "General Federation of Families" for the defense of the moral and material interests of large families; the "Association of Christian Marriage," and several children's playgrounds.

The Catholic Church in England suffered a severe loss in the death recently of Monsignor Moyes, the distinguished controversialist and theologian. He was an indefatigable worker whose place will be difficult to fill. His literary output was enormous and the *Catholic Historical Review* stands deeply indebted to him for many evidences of interest and commendation. We are indebted to *The Tablet* for the following:

Monsignor Moyes was born near Edinburgh in 1851, a notable year for the Church on whose behalf he was destined to labour, in that it saw the completion of the restored Hierarchy. Little is told us of his early life, beyond that he was

educated in Ireland, in France, and at Rome: in the Eternal City he was a student at the Venerabile, and he said his first Mass at Our Lady's altar in the Borghese Chapel of St. Mary Major's on May 23, 1875; fifty years afterwards, at the same altar, Mass was celebrated by His Eminence Cardinal Bourne in honour of the golden jubilee, an anniversary which Monsignor Moyes himself had modestly begged the Catholic press not to mention in advance. As a young priest the firstfruits of his zeal were given to education in the Salford diocese, where he became a professor at St. Bede's College, Manchester, then in the early years of its success. Service on the Manchester School Board proved in another way also his keen interest in the welfare of youth; and a taste and aptitude for journalism were exercised in editing the *Harvest*, the diocesan magazine. In 1891 he was made Canon Theologian of the Salford Chapter; and when, in the following year, the Bishop of that diocese, Herbert Vaughan, was translated to Westminster as Cardinal Manning's successor, he brought with him from the Lancashire city one whose career he had watched with admiring and affectionate interest. Thenceforth Monsignor Moyes remained until the end at Westminster, where he became Canon Theologian of the Chapter in 1895. His appointment about twelve months later as a member of the Papal Commission at Rome on Anglican Orders showed the high estimate put upon his knowledge on that subject, and his services were rewarded in 1897 by his elevation as a Domestic Prelate. Another appointment from the Holy See was that of Sub-delegate Apostolic, in 1903, for the cause of the English Martyrs.

During eleven years following his transfer to the metropolis, Monsignor Moyes combined with other duties the editorship of the *Dublin Review*, a post which he held until 1903, and a certain amount of his own work as a writer is to be found in that periodical; but it was in *The Tablet*, under three successive editors, that most of his literary output reached the public, and the one monument which he has left in book form came from our columns. The actual date of his first association with this paper as a contributor could no doubt be ascertained by search; at any rate, it can be said at once that he wrote frequently in *The Tablet* from July 1890 onwards, for in that month the paper from him appeared, on "The Lambeth Judgment and Anglican Obedience," which stands first in his volume entitled *Aspects of Anglicanism*, published in 1906. In that book, now long out-of-print, he brought together about sixty of his *Tablet* articles, contributed at various dates between 1890 and 1899. The motive which prompted their composition, explained in a preface, held good, we may say, of Monsignor Moyes' writings up till the end—that last pathetically unfinished article on "A Strange Ceremony at York," in *The Tablet* for January 15 last: "the conviction that certain principles of faith are more easily set forth in the light of concrete illustrations than by abstract statements, and that such concrete illustrations are most conveniently sought in the facts and incidents of the religious world of our time." Since those words were written, apropos of the Lambeth Judgment and other burning questions of the 'nineties, many more articles, in quantity enough for a supplementary volume, have appeared in *The Tablet* from the same skilled pen. It would almost savour of impertinence to attempt here to measure the quality of these writings; but as to one feature

about them there must be a word set down in the record: Monsignor Moyes never consciously wrote an offensive or discourteous line of an Anglican opponent. He scorned, as a controversialist, to "hit below the belt"; and so far as we know he was never successfully called to task on the score of a misstatement of fact.

Seven Lutheran Bishops, the Norwegian Storting (Parliament), and the Minister of Public Worship have become involved in a controversy arising out of the recent conversion to Catholicism of one of Norway's leading educationists, Professor Lars Erkeland.

The recent ordination of the son of Norway's Ambassador to Italy and the conversion of the popular woman writer, Sigrid Undset, are adding to the considerable stir that has been caused in the country.

Professor Erkeland's conversion has aroused controversy because he is the founder and president of a kind of university extension school at Voss, which receives a State subsidy.

A member of the Storting brought up in a discussion of the Budget a question concerning the propriety of continuing the appropriation to a school whose principal had gone over to Rome.

Professor Erkeland states that he is willing to leave the teaching of religion to others, and promises not to interfere with that teaching nor to spread Catholic propaganda.

When the case of the State grant was referred to the seven Lutheran bishops, four expressed the opinion that it should be discontinued, and three favoured its continuance. They all praised the professor's ability.

The Minister of Public Worship is inclined to the view that the grant should be discontinued, but he is leaving the decision to the Storting.

The nomination of Monsignor James E. Walsh to an episcopal see in China has a special interest for the Catholics of the United States since he is the first American Bishop to labor in China. It has a personal significance to the managing editor of the *Catholic Historical Review*, who was closely associated with the youthful prelate the early days of the latter's ministerial career.

Bishop Walsh was born in Cumberland, Maryland, thirty-six years ago. He is the son of Mr. William E. Walsh, a prominent lawyer of that city, and Mary Concannon, of Montegut, Louisiana.

He received his Master's degree at Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland, from which historic institution his father and grandfather had both received their degrees. The new Bishop has the distinction of being one of six pioneer students to enter the seminary of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America in the autumn of 1911.

Following his ordination to the priesthood at Maryknoll by the late Bishop Maurice Foley of the Philippine Islands, Father Walsh was appointed director of the Maryknoll Preparatory College at Clark's Summit, Pa., then in its struggling beginnings.

Bishop Walsh was a member of the pioneer group of four who left the Maryknoll Seminary for Keung-kong, the Society's first mission in South China, in the autumn of 1918. He acted in the capacity of first assistant to Father Price, the Society's first Mission Superior. When Father Price died in Hongkong, in September, 1919, Bishop Walsh replaced him, and since then, has filled the post of Mission Superior.

In the summer of 1923, Bishop Walsh returned to the United States to solicit funds for the erection of a Mission Center in the Province of Kwangtung. He met with marked generosity from His Eminence, Cardinal O'Connell. Within nine months the Archdiocese of Boston subscribed the sum of \$40,000 to build the new Center. Boston is thus the first American See to found a Mission Center in Asia.

Among the recent donations to the library of the Catholic University of Music are several hundred volumes from the estate of the late Bishop Hoban. They include the Erlangen edition of the (German) works of Luther in fifty volumes and the Amsterdam edition of the "Opera Omnia" of Calvin in nine folio volumes.

Monsignor Arthur T. Connolly of Boston, has sent from Frankfort a copy of the rare and famous Kessler Bible (1487), also a seventeenth century German Bible with several hundred valuable engravings and wood-cuts; finally a manuscript volume containing a part of the Diary of Sixtus V with a map of his treasure room or vault.

On Sunday, March 13, a bronze tablet erected to the memory of the nineteen pastors who have served in the church of Saint John, Forest Glen, Maryland, for 153 years, was unveiled by Bishop Shahan.

The first name on the tablet is that of Rev. John Carroll, first Bishop of Baltimore, and first Archbishop. Forest Glen is adjacent to the Catholic University and was the home of Archbishop Carroll's family when he returned from Europe on the eve of the Revolution. In a century and a half nineteen pastors have served the small Catholic congregation of the neighborhood, even yet made up largely of the descendants of the original English Catholics who settled in Maryland. Father Rosensteel, himself of pre-revolutionary stock, the present pastor, has been in charge for thirty-eight years, and to him is due the present beautiful church, dedicated by Cardinal Gibbons in 1894. The little pine altar at which Archbishop Carroll used to say Mass is now in the Crypt of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, a highly treasured relic of the Father of the American Hierarchy.

The marble piece which surmounted the little altar is in possession of the congregation at Forest Glen; so, too, are the first Mass bell of the parish and the Mass books which Archbishop Carroll used.

The services were attended by Bishop Shahan, Monsignor George A. Dougherty, and a number of priests from Washington.

The sermon was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday, Professor of Church History at the Catholic University of America, author of "The Life and Times of Archbishop John Carroll."

Danish archaeologists working in the ruins of the ancient Cathedral of Gardar, the centre of Catholic life in Greenland from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries, have made some interesting discoveries. They have uncovered the foundations of the entire church and part of an adjacent house. From the size of these buildings it is evident that they were built at a very flourishing period.

The church was built of blocks of red sandstone, with a spacious choir and many chapels. In one of the latter were found the remains of a Bishop, well preserved. Lying beside him was a crozier wrought of whale teeth. A Bishop's gold ring encircled one of the fingers. The Bishop was of tall and powerful stature. From the objects associated with the remains the tomb is believed to date from 1200. It is supposed that the remains are those either of Bishop Sverresfostre (1187 to 1209) or of a contemporary prelate, Bishop Andres Luneson.

A shrine is to be built at St. Mary's City, Md., on the site of the first Catholic church built in the 13 original colonies. Plans for the structure have been drawn by C. Grant La Farge, a New York architect and brother of the Rev. John La Farge, pioneer in the organization of the Pilgrims of St. Mary's, who are sponsoring the movement to erect the shrine.

The shrine will be of brick, with marble pillars. The architecture, which will preserve the atmosphere of the first chapel, will be purely colonial. A feature of the memorial structure will be the use in its construction of many of the bricks of the original edifice.

Priceless documentary material, which may necessitate rewriting much of medieval history, soon will be placed at the disposal of students through the institution in the Vatican archives of a modern indexing system.

The present index of 658 huge tomes, which was compiled over a period of many centuries, is so obscure and complicated that historical experts believe it has hidden, rather than divulged, many of the Papacy's archivistic treasures. To replace it, Mgr. Angelo Mercati, prefect of apostolic archives, has begun compiling a complete analytical inventory with a cross index system on the lines of that used by the American Library Congress.

So vast is the Vatican collection that for the time being work is confined to four sections—namely, Vatican registers, registers of Lateran archives of the period when Popes occupied Lateran instead of Vatican palace; records of the Papal court and a record of consistories. Of these the first three virtually have been shut to historians because of the archaic system of indexing.

The Vatican register, which is in 2,040 gigantic volumes, contains records of the Papal reigns of John VII, in the ninth century, and Gregory VII, in the 11th century, and uninterruptedly thereafter from 1198 to 1572.

The Lateran register, in 2,460 volumes, contains among other things all Papal bulls from 1389 to 1897, court records in 1,111 volumes dating from 1276 until 1700, consistorial records which date from the 15th century to the Napoleonic period, and one expected to throw new light on the lives and activities of hundreds of cardinals who contributed to make European history.

Simultaneously with the creation of the new index archivists of the Vatican are expected to try to complete the work started by Cardinal Garampi—to make a complete directory of the Christian world entitled *Orbis Christianus*, wherein will be recorded all dioceses, monasteries, churches, hospitals, ecclesiastical and lay personages.

Since our last issue death has claimed two distinguished members, Archbishops Canevin and Aubrey Russell, of the American Hierarchy, both of whom were closely identified with the Catholic University of America, one as a former Secretary of the Board of Trustees of the University, the other as a brilliant alumnus.

Most Rev. John Francis Regis Canevin, D.D., Titular Archbishop of Pelusium, and Bishop of the Diocese of Pittsburgh for sixteen years, from December 20, 1904, to November 26, 1920, died in Pittsburgh Tuesday, March 22, after an extended illness. He was seventy-five years old. Archbishop Canevin was Secretary of the Board of Trustees of the University from 1915 to 1922, and in that period rendered very great service to the Trustees and to the whole University. Ill health compelled him to resign but he never lost interest in the support and development of the University, and to the end exhibited an affectionate concern for its growth and prosperity.

Rt. Rev. William T. Russell, D.D., Bishop of Charleston, South Carolina, died March 18, in his episcopal city after a long and trying illness. He was in his sixty-fourth year. Bishop Russell was an alumnus of the University, where he spent two years, 1891-1893. He was meantime pastor of Hyattsville, Maryland, a neighboring parish. In 1894 he became private secretary to Cardinal Gibbons, and served in that capacity for fourteen years. In 1908 he was appointed pastor of Saint Patrick's, Washington, and during eight years won golden encomia from Catholics and non-Catholics for his successful administration of the most important parish of the National Capital. In 1922 he became Bishop of Charleston, and, as such, a successor to the illustrious John England. Precarious health prevented him from accomplishing much that he had planned for the welfare of his clergy and people.

Cardinal Gasparri, Secretary of State, celebrated during the first week of April the Golden Jubilee of his ordination to the priesthood. At his special request the occasion was celebrated in the strictest privacy and intimacy of his own relatives.

In the Cappella Paulina the various members of the Gasparri, Sili, Bernardini, Floridi, Castelli, Santi, Rosa, Piccini, Arnaldi, Marsilli, and Marinucci families to attend the commemorative Mass which the Cardinal celebrated there. Besides these, there were present also the Cardinal's nephew and colleague in the Sacred College, Cardinal Enrico Gasparri, the French and Peruvian Ambassadors, the Maggiordomo Mgr. Sanz de Samper, the Maestro di Camera, Mgr. Caccia-Dominioni, the Bishop of Norcia (Ordinary of the little town of Ussita, the Gasparri's home), the Papal Master of Ceremonies, Mgr. Respighi, the chief assistants of the Cardinal in the Secretariate of State, Mgr. Borgongini Duca and Mgr. Pizzardo, the Master of the Sacred Palace, the Rector of the Pontifical Roman Seminary (where several nephews of the Cardinal are preparing for the priesthood), and the Holy Father's four private chaplains, the aged Senator Count Santucci, and the well-known lawyer, Francesco Pacelli, both close collaborators of the Cardinal, were also there.

After the Mass His Eminence sat on a little throne to receive the congratulations of his relatives and friends.

The Pope, wishing to offer his Eminence a gift, precious both for its intrinsic value and for the memory it would recall, presented to him the chalice used by the venerable Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris, during the last months of his life, which was left to Pius X. It is well known that, when a young man, Cardinal Gasparri, during his long sojourn in Paris, was bound by close affection and devotion to Cardinal Richard, from whom he also received episcopal consecration on his appointment to his first diplomatic post.

Countless telegrams and messages of congratulation reached the jubilarian Cardinal, and many prayers were offered that he may be long spared to assist the Vicar of Christ in his Apostolic Mission to the world.

Rt. Rev. Mgr. Philip Bernardini, S.T.D., J.C.D., Dean of the Faculty of Canon Law at the Catholic University of America, is a nephew of the distinguished Cardinal.

An Associated Press dispatch from Brunswick, Ga., (April 29) announces that certain old ruins which generally have been known to residents of this section as abandoned sugar mills and English colonial stables now have been revealed as early seventeenth century Spanish missions.

Some of the ruins antedate those of the Spaniards in California, having been established during the period 1556 to 1668 by monks who followed the early explorers of Spain. They set up a chain of missions along the South Atlantic coast, from St. Georges Island, S. C., to St. Augustine, Fla.

Then came the English and the long series of maneuverings which resulted in the Spaniards being driven back into the present confines of Florida. Gen. Oglethorpe, founder of the colony of Georgia, used Scot soldiers in the campaigns and many of them settled in the country. The colonists attempted to draw a veil over the early Spanish colonization here.

Spanish missions built of tabby—a mixture of seashells and shell lime—immediately were converted into stables and later were turned into sugar mills. Children grew up to know the structures only by their utilitarian uses.

In recent years historical societies and individuals have financed an extensive search of archives in Madrid, Seville and Havana, the result being the charting of the entire chain of missions and revealing a romantic history long hidden.

The largest of the tabby ruins is that of the mission of San Domingo del Talaje, at Elizafeld, on the estate owned by William du Pont. In the ruins of the mission of Tolomato, near Darien, Ga., traces of a fortress, dungeon and other structures have been found.

To initiate and popularize revolutionary names in Russia it has been decided to keep files of events so that when children are born the parents will give them revolutionary names, that is, a name corresponding to some revolutionary event and to the terms used in revolutionary language.

Up to three years of age parents may change their children's Christian names to revolutionary ones. The most popular names given are the following: Energy, Steel, May (masculine), Maya (feminine), Boudimir (arouse the world), Rem (combination of the first letters of the words revolution, electrification, and peace, *mir*), Komintern (commissar of foreign affairs), Marat, Volodar (in honor of Volodarsky, the commissar), Electron, Marten, Interna (feminine for international), Marceliese, Forge, Blacksmith, et cetera. Many Fordson tractors having been brought into Russia, there were numerous cases recently of the name of Fordson being given to new-born children.

There are 3,191 private Catholic primary schools in Belgium, which are attended by 130,545 boys and 246,702 girls, according to the quarterly magazine, *School and Education*. These schools are subsidised by the State. Only about 3 per cent. of these pupils pay school fees.

There are about 400 industrial schools, or schools for special study, for boys and over 700 for girls. Catholic middle schools for boys number 71, and for girls 403, including 341 boarding schools and 62 days schools.

A bronze statue of the Holy Father, who, before his election as Pope, was librarian of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, was unveiled there recently.

Cardinal Tosi, Archbishop of Milan, several eminent ecclesiastics, representatives of the Government, and scholars and librarians from abroad, attended the ceremonies. There were speeches, a message from the Pope was read, and a very interesting bibliography of the life of Pius XI., compiled by the present learned Prefect of the Ambrosian Library, was distributed among all who were present.

The English representatives on the Committee formed to collect funds for the statue were His Eminence Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster, the Duke of Norfolk, and Mr. G. K. Chesterton.

The cause of Beatification of Mary Ward, Foundress of the Congregation of the "*Englische Fräulein*," has been introduced in Rome, and on April 6 there was begun in Germany the "Processiculus" or introduction of the Cause. Cardinal Faulhaber is taking great personal interest in the matter. Canon Fischer has been nominated Vice-Postulator of the Cause.

The eighth annual meeting of the superintendents' section, Catholic Educational Association, was held at Catholic University on Wednesday and Thursday of Easter Week. The chairman was Rev. Joseph F. Barbian, Milwaukee, Wis.; the secretary, Rev. John M. Wolfe, S. T. D., of Dubuque, Iowa, and editor, Rev. John R. Hagan, D. D., Ph.D., of Cleveland, Ohio. The conference was opened with an address of welcome by Bishop Shahan. Among the important papers read were:

"Health Education and the Parochial School," by Mary E. Spencer, National Catholic Welfare Conference.

"The Problem Child—Our Social Experience With the Juvenile Delinquent and the Modern American Factors in Delinquency," by Brother Benjamin, C. F. X., St. Mary's Industrial Institute, Carroll Station, Baltimore.

"Improvement of Teachers in Service," by Rev. Edward J. Cahill, M. A., Springfield, Ill.

"The Problem of Supervision in the Elementary School," by Rev. J. H. Ost-diek, M. A., Omaha, Neb.

"A Tentative Program for Junior High Schools," by Rev. John J. Fallon, Belleville, Ill.

"Right Habits of Study—When, How and by Whom to Be Developed," by Rev. Richard J. Quinlan, S. T. L., Boston.

On April 27 the Catholic Order of Forresters presented to the Right Rev. Bishop Thaleau, Rector of the University, a gift of \$50,000 as a native offering to the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception. A fitting memorial commemorative of the event will perpetuate this splendid gift.

Two of the nine buildings selected by the Washington, D. C., Board of Trade for their biennial awards to buildings of "decided merit are Catholic edifices—Trinity College Chapel, and the Church of the Sacred Heart.

Of Trinity College Chapel, designed by Maginnis and Walsh, the prize committee says:

"The interior is a work of high order in architectural composition and ranks, no doubt, among the finest achievements in the country. The proportions are impressive; the details are of great restraint and distinction." The Church of the Sacred Heart, designed by the firm of Murphy and Olmstead, likewise won praise as being "beautifully treated in an extremely clever manner."

A special Chinese exhibit at the Library of Congress reveals that books were being printed in China possibly three hundred years before the art of reproduction by type was discovered in Europe.

Printing in Europe did not appear before the middle of the fifteenth century, but the Chinese collection contains volumes which came off the press in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. All these books, however, were printed with engraved wooden blocks, each hand-carved.

The Chinese, however, could have used movable types if they wished. These were invented in 1152 A. D. by a blacksmith, Pi Sheng, who may be considered from the point of view of priority, the inventor of the art of printing. They were ill-adapted to the Chinese language, however, with its approximately 30,000 characters compared to the few dozen of other languages.

Printing from engraved blocks, the explanatory notes to the collection state, is said to have been invented in 593 A. D., but made little progress for three centuries. Books continued to be copied by hand until the art was more or less perfected in the tenth century when there were a great increase and cheapening of them. It was possible to give them a wide circulation and this condition led directly to the golden era of Chinese literature and philosophy—the Sung dynasty from 960 to 1280 A. D.

A curiosity of the collection is a volume printed in 1761 by order of the Emperor Chieng Lung as a bit of propaganda. The book contains descriptions of 42 European peoples and 231 aboriginal tribes who are represented as paying tribute to the Manchu rulers. Each race is illustrated by an engraving.

The English, for instance, are represented as a subject people to the great Emperor. The descriptive matter concerning them reads:

"England was at one time a possession of Holland, and the dress of the people is the same. England is a rich country. Its men wear velvet clothes and like to drink wine. Its women before marriage lace their waists tightly to make them appear small, and wear their hair down their shoulders. The English women wear short jackets and have custom of carrying golden-chased snuff boxes."

The exhibit contains not only the best samples of the invaluable Chinese manuscripts and books in the Library of Congress collection, now probably the most valuable outside China, but some beautiful examples of Chinese art work, such as paintings on silk and on rice paper, which have come to the Library.

Substantial gains in the number of Catholics in the United States, in the number of priests, of churches and of schools, and in virtually every department of Catholic endeavor, are recounted in the 1927 edition of *The Official Catholic Directory*, which has just been published by P. J. Kenedy & Sons of New York.

According to the directory there are now 19,483,296 Catholics in the United States. This is an increase of 604,574 over the 1926 membership recorded by the volume, and although 103,100 of the number are accounted for by the inclusion in the General Summary of the Vicariate-Apostolic of the Hawaiian Islands, the gain still remains large.

There are now 24,990 priests serving 17,651 churches. This is a gain of 638 priests, and an increase of 271 churches. There are now 6,995 parochial schools in the United States, an increase over last year of 176, and the number of pupils attending these schools is now 2,167,241, a gain of 94,775. There has been a substantial increase in the number of seminarians. There are now 13,988 as against 12,595 last year. This is a gain of 1,393, an indication that vocations to the priesthood are on the increase rather than on the decrease.

The number of orphans in orphan asylums is somewhat less than it was last year. There are now 128 Homes for the Aged as against 117 listed in the 1926 Official Catholic Directory, and 613 hospitals are listed in the 1927 edition.

There are seventeen Archbishops and ninety-nine Bishops, making a total of 116 in the hierarchy of the United States.

The 1927 Official Catholic Directory has been improved in a dozen respects over the 1926 book, both in its contents and in typographical appearance and ease of use. These improvements have undoubtedly made it one of the finest volumes of its kind printed. The pages are considerably increased in size and the bulk of the book is considerably lessened, making both for better appearance and unableness.

In addition, the text matter has been increased and several new and important features are included. Chief among them is a map in colors showing the Provinces of the United States and the limits of each archdiocese and diocese.

There are included, as well, in this edition for the first time, statistics of converts throughout the country. While several of the larger Church divisions did not report the number of their converts for this, the first summary, even with these omissions the total reaches 35,751. It is expected that next year complete data in this respect will be available.

Another feature of interest is the inclusion of data regarding the diocesan agencies of Catholic charities in the United States. This information is grouped under the various states. Data concerning mission activities in the country have been rearranged, and the missionary communities are now listed separately and the missionary aid societies grouped together, both under the general headings Home Missions and Foreign Missions. Much data also are given on the foreign missions conducted by the various orders and societies in the United States.

Still another feature which is new for this year is the inclusion of statistics on hospitals.

Membership of the non-Catholic denominations, as compiled by the *Christian Herald*, follows:

Denomination.	Communicants.	Gain.
Methodist Episcopal	4,545,866	29,060
Southern Baptist	3,707,523	65,918
National Baptist (col.), 1925	3,310,969
Methodist Episcopal, South	2,538,311	4,199
Presbyterian, U. S. A.	1,868,055	39,139
Disciples of Christ	1,436,575	*4,887
Northern Baptist ('25)	1,374,688
Protestant Episcopal	1,173,679	8,768

Congregationalist (est.)	918,029	16,369
United Lutheran	860,633	10,193
African Methodist Epis.	721,034	23,005
Luthern Synod of Missouri	638,115	9,420
Latter-Day Saints (Utah Branch)	558,463	22,804
African M. E. Zion (1925)	490,000	
Presbyterian in U. S. (South)	462,177	5,084
United Brethren in Christ	393,733	1,578
Jewish Congregations (1925)	357,135	
Reformed Church in U. S.	349,711	1,709
Evangelical Synod of N. A.	332,667	27,047
Colored Methodist Episcopal	331,021	*10,980
Churches of Christ (Disciples), 1916	317,937	
Norwegian Lutheran	289,232	1
Greek (Hellenic) Orthodox	270,000	14,000
Lutheran Augustana Synod	220,272	4,567
Evangelical Church	208,171	5,179
Russian Orthodox (1925)	200,000	

*Loss.

Lovers of Madonna Art will feel grateful to the Right Rev. Rector of the Catholic University and his energetic aide, Rev. Dr. McKenna, for the Art Exhibition held in the Salon of the Crypt of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception during the first two weeks of March. The exhibition was given by Senhor Decio Villares, of Brazil. Senhor Villares' paintings are notable achievements and he has won many artistic distinctions both in Europe and America. He is a Gold Medallist of the School of Fine Arts of Rio Janeiro and Perpetual Member of the School of Fine Arts of Paris.

The question of the birthplace of St. Patrick has again become matter of discussion in the British Isles, and what seems quite weighty evidence of the fact that the Apostle of Ireland is furnished by Mr. J. Kyrle Fletcher, writing in the *Cardiff Western Mail*. He says:

On the hills above Brecon, writes Mr. Fletcher, there is a Roman fort called *Caer Bannav*; but St. Patrick's birthplace is *Banna Venta*, which in English would mean "the hills of Gwent," and the prefix *Aber* would mean the junction.

The only place, says Mr. Fletcher, which is situated in Gwent and which fits this description is *Abergavenny*. And he further states that in the Roman itinerary of Antoninus, *Abergavenny* is there called *Gobannio*, and by other authors *Gobannium* or *Bannium*. Mr. Fletcher argues from this that *Bannium*, in Gwent, must surely be the same place as *Bannaventa* of the "Confession."

St. Patrick also in his "Confession" says that "my father had also a villa at Enon, and it was while I was staying there I was captured by the sea raiders." In the various lives of the saint, according to Mr. Fletcher, there is a reference to St. Patrick's going to a place variously called "*Arnon*," "*Mount Arnon*," and "*Mount Hermon*." *Mount Arnon* is a rock in the *Tyrrhene Sea*, near the city of *Capua*, and *Mount Hermon* is in *Palestine*.

The idea of the historians, says Mr. Fletcher, was to give added importance to their hero, but he himself advances the theory that Arnon and Enon are the same place, and that when St. Patrick went to Arnon he was merely returning to the villa of his father, Calpurnius, at Enon. "The ancient name for Llantarnam was "'Cil St. Arnon"—'the Cell of St. Arnon.'"

A further point, he maintains, is that out of the mass of conflicting stories comes the fact that Arnon was near to a six-walled city, and certainly Arnon, in Gwent, was close to the walled city of Caerleon, and, in fact, was counted as within the outer boundaries of that city.

The eminent authority upon the Gregorian melodies, Dom Mocquereau, celebrated a few weeks ago his fiftieth year of monastic life at the abbey of the Benedictines of Solesmes. Seventy-eight years of age, Dom Mocquereau, a native of Anjou, had from his childhood shown altogether exceptional musical talent. Belonging to a very musical family, he had from childhood been brought up with the sonatas, the trios, the quartets of Haydn, of Mozart, and of Beethoven. As a young man he had learnt the violon-cello under the instruction of Dancla, professor at the Paris Conservatoire, and took part in some of the great symphonic concerts held in Paris. His masters wanted him to join the Conservatoire, but he left the world and knocked at the door of the Abbey of Solesmes.

His first lessons in the Gregorian chant were given him by Dom Pothier. Dom Mocquereau's qualities as teacher were so great that, as early as 1880, the Abbot asked him to form a Schola, which soon became famous. A few years later appeared the first volume of *Paléographie Musicale*, started by Dom Mocquereau to demonstrate the true character and history of the Gregorian melodies. To achieve his end, Dom Mocquereau had to gather together an immense quantity of manuscripts, going as far back as the ninth century, which he had to classify, study, and analyse. It was a gigantic task. The *Paléographie* has to-day reached its fourteenth volume, still under the direction of Dom Mocquereau. To him also we owe a series of masterly works expounding and demonstrating the rhythm of the Gregorian Chant.

A noteworthy event was chronicled some time ago by the Belgian press—the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the entry of distinguished Father Delehaye into the Society of Jesus. While Father Delehaye was preparing to pass the day quietly among his books and students at Louvain the Prime Minister of Belgium and other notables presented themselves at the gates of St. Michael's College and asked permission to assist at Mass. Following the sacred function, the jubilarian was forced to assist at a convocation, at which addresses, letters of felicitation from the Pope and the King of Belgium were presented to the great scholar-priest. The crowning act of the occasion was the decoration of Father Delehaye with the cross of Commander of the Order of Leopold. The

ceremonies served to direct attention to the great work of the Bollandists of which the jubilarian is president. The Bollandists take their name from John van Bolland, S.J., the editor of the first volume of the *Acta Sanctorum*. The collection at present numbers sixty-five large volumes, the first dated 1643, the latest 1926.

The original purpose of the Bollandists had been to publish merely the lives of all the Saints; but as the work advanced it was amplified to include critical commentaries. Of the primitive scheme, only the disposition of the work is retained, which consists in following the order of the calendar of the Saints. The latest volume narrates just the lives in two days of the calendar—November 4. As an indication of the difficulties involved, this volume contains, along with the Latin text, large fragments of Arabic, Greek, Chaldean, Syriac and Armenian manuscripts. The expense entailed is also great, \$30,000 having been the average cost for the last three volumes published.

At present but three Bollandists are actively and permanently engaged in the task the year round. They are Fathers Delehaye, Peeters and Lechat. Six aspirants studying in various countries labor with these three at intervals.

When the Bollandists are not making researches in libraries of foreign countries, they work in what they call their "shop" at Brussels. This is an immense room containing more than 160,000 volumes treating of history, archeology, hagiography. That library is unique in the world for its specialty. Besides books in the library, the scholars receive 600 reviews in 25 languages. These are sent gratuitously or in exchange for the *Analecta Bollandiana*, an octavo volume of some 800 pages published annually.

Father Delehaye was born in Antwerp in 1859. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1876, studied at Louvain and Innsbruck. In addition to his editorship of the *Acta Sanctorum* and the *Analecta Bollandiana* he has written important separate volumes on hagiology, one of which —*Legends of the Saints*—has been rendered into English by Mrs. V. M. Crawford.

The Coliseum in Rome has again assumed a Christian aspect, which it lost during the wave of anti-clericalism and violent nationalism which swept over Italy after the seizure and occupation of the Papal States by the Piedmontese armies. The Cross, Symbol of Christianity, was replaced in its position of eminence in the arena on May 18 by order of Premier Mussolini. Queen Helena and Princess Giovanna presided at the ceremony; and five thousand priests, including the religious orders in Rome, students of the national colleges attended. As the Cross was unveiled, a chorus of one hundred voices chanted Palestrina's hymn in honor of the Holy Cross.

According to a despatch to the N. C. W. C. *News Service* (May 5) the kulturkampf in Mexico is becoming more violent. The total number of Mexican bishops and archbishops now exiled from Mexico by Calles is sixteen.

Of the 17 remaining heads of Sees in Mexico, only three are archbishops, and two of these—Archbishops Orozco y Jimenez of Guadalajara and Herrera y Pina of Monterrey—are known to be in hiding, sought by Government agents.

Since the third, Archbishop Nunez y Zarate, is Ordinary of Oaxaca, where there has been trouble, it is assumed that he also is in hiding.

Seven of the remaining bishops were last reported under arrest in Mexico City, but permitted their freedom with the requirement that they report to Government officials once a day.

Out of the 33 Ordinaries, there remain only four who are not known to be in exile, in hiding or under arrest. These are Bishops Rafael Guizar y Valencia of Vera Cruz, Antonio Guizar y Valencia of Chihuahua, Velasco of Colima and Ortiz y Lopez of Chilapa.

However, inasmuch as each of these four is in a State where grave revolutionary activity has appeared, there is little doubt here that all are in hiding, if not under arrest, since it seems to be the purpose of Calles to thrust the whole Hierarchy out of the country.

The annual meeting of the Catholic Press Association, which was held at Savannah, Ga., May 21-23, is reported as one of the most satisfactory and enthusiastic ever held. A warm welcome was extended to the delegates by the Savannah and Georgia secular press. Editors of both the Savannah papers addressed the convention and the president of the Georgia Press Association, Ernest Camp, sent a distinguished representative to greet the delegates and issued a letter through the Georgia *Bulletin* in which he said:

"The creed of the Georgia editor is service and his motto is tolerance. Men and women representing every shade of religious belief and political thought work together in a single purpose and in the utmost harmony and accord. In sending this message of fraternal greeting and good-will I assure you all that Georgia is glad to welcome your body of eminent journalists and takes pride in the invaluable service which they have rendered to the citizenship of this republic."

The most important action of the convention was the creation of a Catholic Literary Foundation of \$50,000 for prizes to authors of poems, essays, articles, and books.

Rev. David T. O'Dwyer, pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Denver, Colorado, has been appointed assistant to the Chancellor and the Rector of the Catholic University of America. He is a graduate of Maynooth, and came to Denver in 1903. He has a wide reputation for scholarship. His new duties will necessitate a good deal of traveling. He has a wide personal acquaintance and, as part of the new programme of university expansion, he will represent the needs of the institution to prominent people throughout the country.

The solemn celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the priesthood of Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, took place on May 30 in the Pauline chapel of the Vatican (the private celebration is noted elsewhere).

The jubilarian was assisted by his nephew, Monsignor Bernardini, professor of Canon Law at the Catholic University of America.

Cardinal Gasparri, papal secretary of state, celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his entry into the priesthood yesterday with a solemn mass in the Pauline Chapel, the parish church in the Vatican Palace. The cardinal himself presided at a mass, assisted by Mgr. Bernardini.

Twenty-three cardinals attended, including his eminence Denis Cardinal Dougherty of Philadelphia, also the entire diplomatic body. The diplomats presented Cardinal Gasparri with a gorgeous chalice of solid gold and silver, decorated with statues and medallions, together with an illuminated parchment with a Latin inscription. Many other gifts were received.

Carlos Magalhães de Azeredo, ambassador from Brazil, as doyen of the corps, delivered an address, in which he praised Cardinal Gasparri's work, especially his code of canon law, which, he declared, would be "to the eternal glory of his name."

Cardinal Gasparri thanked the ambassador for his praise, which he declared he hardly deserved. Concerning the work of the Holy See, he said:

"During the terrible period of the World War each group of belligerents naturally desired to have the Holy See on its side, while the Holy See quite naturally tried to keep outside and above the conflict, working for the cessation of war and trying to alleviate the sufferings.

"Both sides complained, but once the war was over all the powers which had no diplomatic relations with the Vatican hastened to establish them."

For these reasons, he concluded, he found himself now among a diplomatic body numerically almost double that of before the war.

The Right Rev. Monsignor Nicolaus Pfeiffer, President of Ika, has sent the writer a cable stating that the Congress of this International organization will meet at Bregenz, Austria, July 29 to August 2. The general theme for discussion during the sessions is "Modern Economic Life and Catholic Teaching." Several prominent speakers will report on topics within this conspectus. The writer had planned to be one of the speakers, but owing to the inconvenient date it will not be possible to be present. Rev. Raymond A. McGowan, who is now en route to Budapest, Rumania, will probably be the American representative at the Congress and discuss the subject which had been assigned to the writer. This is the seventh annual Ika Congress, and its membership is distinctly international.

BOOK REVIEWS

Saint Basil, The Letters, with an English Translation. By Roy Joseph Deferrari, Ph.D., of the Catholic University of America. In four vols., Vol. I. The Loeb Classical Library, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Students as well as the general reader will be glad to have this excellent edition of the *Letters of Saint Basil the Great*, whose influence, both ecclesiastical and literary has been drawing the intelligent interest of many centuries. This edition of the Letters of Basil is one of the many fruits of Dr. Deferrari's untiring zeal and highly competent scholarship in the field of Patristic studies in America. In speaking of this first volume of the Letters, it is only fair to call attention to the remarkable work of Dr. Deferrari in the field of Patristics,—work that is too little known and appreciated. Under Dr. Deferrari's direction, eleven volumes in the field of Patristics have appeared in the Patristic Studies, edited by Dr. Deferrari, at the Catholic University of America, since 1922. It is good to know that more volumes in this excellent series are in preparation. It is more than significant that so much work could have been done in so short a time, and that it should have been possible to maintain so high a standard of scholarship as the volumes show. Obviously, the whole credit for this achievement belongs to Dr. Deferrari. The whole field of Patristics has been neglected in this country, at least, and the work of Dr. Deferrari in stimulating interest in this valuable work, and also in making so many contributions to it by his own work should be a source of justifiable satisfaction to all scholars. When, for instance, Dr. Alexander Souter lectured at the Catholic University of America on the life and work of Saint Augustine, he pointed out quite definitely that so far as his knowledge went there was no place where more was being done for the cause of Patristic learning than at the Catholic University. This of course is owing wholly to the eminently successful efforts of Dr. Deferrari. Recognition more significant than this could hardly be desired. The fact that Dr. Deferrari was asked by the Committee of the Loeb Classical Library to edit St. Basil's Letters should make all Catholic scholars

proud to think that one of their number in America has attained a distinction both recognized and merited.

The material of vol. I of the *Letters of St. Basil* is arranged well. The Life of St. Basil, divided into five parts, gives a good idea of the most important stages in his remarkable career. These headings are: Early Life and Education; Basil and Monasticism; The Priesthood; Basil and Arianism; and Basil as Archbishop. In each of these sections, the material given is just what the reader would need to know in order to construct a background adequate to the intelligent reading of the Letters.

The most important works of Basil are noted, so as to guide the reader in case anything in the Letters should lead him on to further study of Basil's work.

The section devoted to giving a brief account of the Letters themselves, their origin, plan, scope, and purpose, is done admirably well. One could wish that this section had been somewhat fuller.

The Bibliography, giving a list of the mss., and also a list of the best books dealing with St. Basil is arranged clearly and well. Only books worth consulting are given, and this saves the reader much effort and inconvenience.

The foot-notes are worthy of remark: oddly enough, the editor has actually picked out points that need elucidation, and, more strangely, he has given clearly and succinctly, with commendable brevity, precisely the information needed. These notes are not loaded with jejune and pointless animadversions and generalities.

The translation is clear, forceful, and idiomatic. As Dr. Pace in his foreword to the vol. points out, the translator has dealt skilfully with many theological words and terms. He has succeeded in keeping their meaning without doing violence either to the text or to his translation; and this, it may be said, is in itself a feat by no means easy of accomplishment.

As regards the format of the vol., it is enough to say that it shares the uniform excellence of the Loeb publications.

The translator and editor is to be congratulated on having done a piece of work that is a genuine credit to himself, his University, and the Church. This is true especially in view of the fact that a good translation of Letters of any sort taxes the in-

genuity of the editor perhaps more than most forms of writing. Dr. Deferrari is to be congratulated warmly on this first vol., and he will have the good wishes of those who enjoy this first vol. as the prelude to the other three. It is particularly fortunate that this work should be appearing just now, when interest in the field of Patristics is growing, owing in no small measure to Dr. Deferrari's own fruitful work.

FREDERICK W. DICKINSON,
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Angela Merici and Her Teaching Idea. By Sister M. Monica, Ph.D., of the Brown County Ursulines, Saint Martin, Ohio. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Company, 1927. Pp. xiv + 429.

Too much cannot be said in praise of the present volume. The author has been singularly successful in handling her subject. She has cleverly and accurately depicted an interesting character in the midst of an intricate historical background. St. Angela Merici's sixty-six years of life were lived during the Renaissance, in an Italy intoxicated with humanism. As even the casual reader of history knows, it was a period which had imbibed pagan morals with pagan literature. Yet out of the whirlpool of a morally degenerate civilization came no fewer than eighty-seven men and women whom the Church has crowned with the aureola of sainthood. Among these the orphan girl of Brescia looms high. She first saw the light on the borders of Lake Garda in sunny Lombardy in 1474. Deprived of their parents at ten, she and her sister were compelled to accept the fostering care of their aunt. Like another Saint Catherine of Siena, at a very early age she saw the evils of her day. And with equally keen vision, she devised an effective remedy. At the age of twenty we find her establishing a school at her birthplace, the small town of Desenzano, where she taught the little village girls Christian doctrine.

But Angela Merici was of the day of a Cecilia Gonzaga, Isabella and Beatrice d'Este, Vittoria Colonna, and countless other

less famous but equally brilliant women, who have left an indelible mark on the history of their times. Enthusiasm for art and letters ran high. An emancipation of women had taken place. Fathers and husbands and brothers saw their women folk translating Latin and Greek as fluently as they did themselves. Besides entering into their sportsmanship, sympathizing with their martial enterprises, women helped to fashion their politics. To do all this well and not lose her moral status, women needed the guiding hand of religion. This was the need visioned by Angela Merici. The effort to supply it became her life work.

To this woman saint of Brescia was reserved the privilege of founding the first religious Order in the Church devoted exclusively to the work of the education of young girls. But her ideal was not attained until she had passed a painful apprenticeship of seventeen long years in the lowly labors of the classroom. It was not until 25 November, 1535, about five years before her death, that she succeeded in gathering about her twelve young women of piety and learning, who formed the nucleus of her Institute. This first congregation of teaching religious women was established near the Church of St. Afra in Brescia, and placed under the protection of St. Ursula, the special patron of young girls. The aim was high: to combine secular and religious education in such wise as would make for the harmonious intellectual development of the individual, and thus place the Catholic women before the world as the intellectual equal of her less religious sisters, and their moral superior. Four centuries have passed since the first Ursulines, under the inspiration of their saintly Foundress, began their heroic labors in the realm of teaching. How well their successors have attained their ideals history attests. The educational idea of St. Angela was carried rapidly into France and Germany, and finally throughout all Europe. With the establishing of the French in the New World came the daughters of St. Angela led by the saintly Marie de l'Incarnation, whom Bossuet did not hesitate to call the St. Teresa of modern times. In our own country today these same daughters of St. Angela are perpetuating her mission, meeting and combatting the same difficulties with the same weapons: religion and learning.

Sr. Monica has written the life story of one of the Church's heroines in sanctity. She has given us also a volume on the

history of education. She has enriched her pages with a psychological analysis of the pedagogical principles which animated St. Angela of Merici; principles which have stood the test of four centuries, and are to-day doing efficient service to society at large in the sphere of higher education of women. The book reveals wide reading, deep scholarship, a charming literary style, and familiarity with the highest historical authorities. The preface by Bishop Canevin is itself an able chapter on pedagogy. No teacher or instructor of the young can afford to omit reading this volume. No library should be without it.

J. F. L.

Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgange des Mittelalters.
Von Ludwig Freiherrn von Pastor. Zehnter Band: Sixtus V, Urban VII, Gregor XIV, und Innozenz IX (1585-1591).
Freiburg im Breisgau, 1926: Herder & Co.

The bulk of this volume is the history of the remarkable pontificate of Sixtus V, 1585-1590, since the three other Popes together ruled only from August 1590 to December 1591. "In the Franciscan Pope, Sixtus V, an extraordinary person, a genius in every regard, ascended the throne of Peter; a Pope so fascinating to all his contemporaries that some merits are attributed to him which in reality rather belong to his predecessor Gregory XIII. If the latest researches have corrected this error, they leave intact the unique position of the pontificate of Sixtus V." His chief characteristics were a clear insight into the needs of the Church and the dangers which threatened it in all countries; a keen appreciation of the factors of its supernatural strength; the gift of selecting able men to carry out his plans, and an inflexible will in the execution of what he recognized to be necessary.

Due to the weakness shown by his predecessor Gregory XIII in his last years and to unusual difficulties encountered by that pope, a crime wave of enormous proportion had arisen in the Papal States. Travelling was very unsafe. Plunderings and murders were of daily occurrence. The new pope took energetic measures against this evil right after his election. Four notori-

ous highway men were executed before his coronation. He was convinced that to secure the life of the honest citizens the lives of the criminals had to be sacrificed. To sow discord in the ranks of organized banditry every robber who would surrender another bandit dead or alive was promised impunity for himself and several of his friends, and a pecuniary reward to boot. This worked wonders. Heads of robbers were constantly being delivered to the police authorities of Rome, and were stuck up on pikes to terrify the evil-minded. The severity thus displayed against those who deserved no mercy "had a greater effect than the costly military expeditions undertaken by Gregory XIII." It took more than two years, however, of relentless severity to put an end to the crime wave.

This suppression of banditry is perhaps the feature most frequently mentioned in the life of Sixtus V. Much greater were his merits in behalf of the government of the Church, the appointment and better organization of the 'Cardinals' Congregations to look after the interests of the Church in clearly defined fields; the pope's incessant and very effective labors for the reformation of all classes; his ceaseless endeavors to secure the still Catholic parts of Germany and other countries; the studies made by his command to bring about a better edition of the Vulgate; his open-handed support of Catholic art; and the judicious and persevering way in which he pushed the construction or restoration of aqueducts, bridges, streets, churches, office buildings, and palaces, which efforts within the short space of five years literally renewed the aspect of the Eternal City.

In Sixtus V's pontificate falls the destruction of the Spanish Armada. The author's survey of the conditions in Europe, in particular of the forces of the two contending powers, is one of the most interesting passages in this fascinating book. Spain was not strong enough; its fleet and whole military system was in too chaotic a state; its fighting methods too antiquated to cope with the English armament. Only reluctantly had Sixtus V given his consent and paid subsidies to Philip II of Spain. In view of the hesitating and blundering way in which the Spanish king made the preparations for the enterprise the Pope never fully believed in victory. After the Armada had sailed, he would often break out into tears when alone with his secretary. The

affairs of England, especially the fate and sufferings of the Catholics in that country—during his pontificate Mary Stuart was executed—loom very big in the thoughts and plans of the Pope. It is surprising how long he kept up the hope for a conversion of Elizabeth for some peaceful settlement of the complaints against her. Philip II's character as a ruler we fear will greatly suffer in the eyes of the readers of this volume. Philip's over-weening power in Italy of which he made a use by no means moderate; the protection he afforded to a clique of Spanish Jesuits against their superiors; the high-handed manner in which he domineered over the cardinals in several conclaves—are not apt to show him in a favorable light, in spite of the traits of genuine personal piety which appear here and there.

The author winds up his masterly exposition of the life of this remarkable pope by portraying the character of his building activity, which "has justly been called gigantic and miraculous." The erection of the obelisk before St. Peter's church was the greatest feat of engineering in more than a thousand years. "To Sixtus V the Eternal City owes that stamp of monumental greatness and solemn majesty, which with its strong emphasis upon the spiritual imparted to the City of St. Peter's successors that peculiar appearance which distinguished it for three centuries from all other capitals of the world. This exterior transformation corresponded to the interior revival brought about by the Catholic Reformation."

FRANCIS S. BETTEN, S.J.

German After-War Problems. By Kuno Francke. 134 pages. Harvard University Press, 1927.

The four papers gathered in this little volume reflect the observations made during several visits of the author to his native land in the years following the Treaty of Versailles. They are filled with kind sympathy for Germany and the Germans. The author brings out what he thinks are the many good traits in the German character, without forgetting its weakness. He rightly admires the fact that in spite of so much distress literary, educational, and artistic work was carried on even during the periods of deepest gloom. University professors assured him

they had never had such serious students. The author deplors the fact that a large percentage of the most educated circles keep aloof from political life and have drifted into the ultra-nationalistic camp. The author is a non-Catholic. His views, expressed in a few very short passages, on Martin Luther, or the radicals Liebknecht and Bebel, we do not share. On the other hand he considers the "undervaluation of the moral strength of the Catholic Church" and the whole Kulturkampf as one of the fundamental blunders of Bismarck. If there is still a moral boycott against Germany, (p. 97) we are convinced this book will help to do away with it. The instances of general suffering and the enormous losses inflicted by the inflation after the war upon individuals and all educational and charitable institutions, losses which it will take generations to repair, will help to bring about this desirable effect. It gives us pleasure, however, to inform the author that anti-German feeling has disappeared in Catholic circles.

F. S. BETTEN, S.J.

Histoire De France. Par A. Malet, abrégée par Paul Rice Doolin. 1927. Paris: Librairie Hachette. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page & Co. Pp. 490.

A curious symptom of the new method of initiating the American students to the literature and history of other nations is the publication of a choice of modern French text-books edited by American professors or by French professors familiar with the requirements of American schools. This method seems to offer an excellent guarantee of objective information and scholarship.

The present *Histoire de France* is an abridgment of text-books that are widely used in French lycées and colleges, with special emphasis on such topics as show the main elements of French civilisation. The author has made a laudable effort to maintain a spirit of fairness and respect for the Catholic Church. He pays a tribute to the role of the Bishops during the century of anarchy that followed the Germanic invasions: "Grâce aux évêques, l'oeuvre civilisatrice accomplie par les Romains en Gaule ne fut pas entièrement détruite"; he shows the share of the clergy had in the restoration of schools under Charlemagne; his

account of the struggle between Philip-le-Bel and Boniface VIII is favourable to the Pope; he points out the beneficial action of the Church in instituting the knighthood, in organizing the administration of justice, in establishing schools and hospitals and in fostering national and international peace: "Au onzième siècle, il n'y eut pas une assemblée ecclésiastique qui ne fut aussi une assemblée de paix." A whole chapter is devoted to the christian inspiration of French mediæval civilization, and the sweet figure of Joan of Arc is drawn with evident sympathy.

Were we to believe the author, however, the Church would have lost her influence since the XVth or XVIth century, or if she is still active she is hostile to the modern ideas of liberty and progress. After the Concordat of 1516, the Bishops are but "créatures et agents dévoués du Roi." The Reformation is said to have sprung "from the restoration of the Bible to the faithful"; the Protestants are pictured as the innocent victims of catholic persecution and the Jansenists as crushed by their "adversaires implacables, les Jésuites"; the wealth of the clergy is given as one of the causes of the misery of the people which precipitated the Revolution, and the schismatic Civil Constitution of the Clergy is merely described as the work of "catholiques gallicans." The anticlerical legislation of Waldeck-Rousseau and Combes is explained on the ground that the religious congregations inculcated in the French youth "contempt for modern society and hatred of our institutions."

Catholic teachers who might be tempted to adopt this as a text-book should remember that Bishop Baudrillart, the distinguished historian and rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris has published (1921) an *Histoire de France* which covers the same ground as Malet's work and combines the soundest scholarship with respect and love for the Church.

JULES BAISNÉE.

Charles Buller and Responsible Government. By E. M. Wrong. Oxford University Press, American Branch. Pp. viii + 352.

"I cannot claim," writes the editor, "that this book meets any conspicuous need, nor that it is the result of very profound re-

search; it tries merely to fill a small gap." Mr. Wrong has underestimated the cost of his effort and the value of his contribution. Charles Buller shines by the light of other men rather than by his own. The friend of the Carlyles (Carlyle tutored him as a boy), the Chief Secretary of Lord Durham on his mission to Canada, the friend and aid of Wakefield, the promoter of Australian colonization, Charles Buller, radical member of Parliament, never held a major position in the Cabinet. Yet Thackeray addressed the epilogue of *Dr. Birch and his Young Friends* to his memory and Bulwer Lytton described his life rhetorically in his *St. Stephens*. Buller was not merely a voting member of the Commons. He stood for principles radical in his day, widely accepted in our day. After his attachment to the Durham mission Buller was recognized as an authority on colonial matters. For this reason alone the reprinting of his *Responsible Government for the Colonies* has been worth while. This pamphlet and Wakefield's article in Fisher's *Colonial Magazine* on Metcalf's policy in Canada have been inaccessible to the majority of students of European expansion and of its corollary, colonial government. Thanks to Mr. Wrong, we may all learn more of what was in the minds of the men who in striving then for the autonomy of the English provinces, laid the foundations of the present national status of these provinces as Dominions.

Humanism and Tyranny: Studies in the Italian Trecento.

By Ephraim Emerton. Cambridge. Harvard University Press. Pp. x + 377.

Both historical and political science may claim this study in the Italian trecento. Salutati, about whom the book, so to speak, was built, was a "political theorist of no mean capacity" in Florence, a city in which the politically unfit were quickly eliminated, the mediocre scarcely tolerated and the adept seldom long in power. Professor Emerton has provided us with a translation of Salutati's *De Tyranno*. The Florentine, however, owed some of his ideas to the jurist, Bartolus of Sassoferrato, who had written a *Tractatus de Tyrannia*. A translation of Bartolus' *Tractatus*, therefore, follows the Salutati treatise. Neither Salutati nor

Bartolus, however, can be fully appreciated without illustrations. In illustration of the idea of tyranny, as set forth by the humanist and the legist, we are offered the story of Francesco dei Ordelaffi, the tyrant, who most stubbornly resisted the reestablishment of the temporal power of the Pope in the Romagna. Ordelaffi was a desperate character, but was finally forced to submit to the papal army led by the legate, Cardinal Albornoz, whose German biographer has most properly called him "der zweite Begründer des Kirchenstaats." Not only for his conquests, but also for his settlement of the territory which he regained for his master at Avignon does Albornoz deserve this title. Among the most lasting institutions of the Italian trecento was the code of laws (*Constitutiones Egidianae*) which he promulgated in 1357 and which remained the "technical basis" of papal territorial administration until 1816. Selections from this code follow the accounts of Francesco dei Ordelaffi. Two other tracts, Bartolus' treatise on the Guelphs and Ghibellines and Salutati's Defense of Liberal Studies, conclude the volume. Their relation to the purpose of the editor is obvious.

The historical world is so deeply in debt to Professor Emerton not only for this work, but also for many others, that one dislikes to utter a word of criticism. We would, however, that he did not so often offer us his personal equation for solution. Why be so surprised as to say that Petrarch actually did his own thinking over a wide range of topics (p. 26), and why necessarily see in Salutati's Defence of Liberal Studies one of the stages of "the perpetual conflict between a forward-striving enlightenment and the backward pull of an obscurantist 'fundamentalism'" (p. 290)? Is there no distinction to be made between the few religious propositions on which the Church has insisted and the unofficial interpretations put on them by zealous ecclesiastics? Not less open to question is the rhetoric we find on pages 59-60 about the World War. If we must pursue our fourteenth century studies into later times why not call attention to sequences less open to debate? For example, Albornoz was a Spaniard, and he incorporated the Spanish idea of the *audiencia*, well known in the Central and South American colonies, into his *Constitutions*, in what Professor Emerton has called the

"syndication' of Court officials" (p. 231). In the table of contents should be noted the duality of the Ordelaffi "text" selection, viz.: The anonymous author of the *Vita Cola di Rienzi* and Villani.

History of France. By Jacques Bainville. Translated by Alice Gauss, A. M., and Christian Gauss, A. M., Litt. D. Illustrated New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1926.

The translators have done a great service to the science of history by putting into English this volume which has reached the phenomenal circulation of exhausting more than one hundred and twenty-five editions in the original. The author avows that the book owes its being to a sentiment on his part which many of us have experienced. While a student he found the study of history very uninteresting. When trying to find out the reason for his disgust, he concluded that the fault was not with the matter but with the way in which it was presented. He then began to read history and think for himself. If the result were only this one book, his life study has not be in vain.

M. Jacques Bainville has the rare gift of so writing history that it reads like a romance. His style is entrancing, his matter thrilling. He tells us the story of the French nation. He shows us the France of today as the product of the past. Like Frederick Harrison, he believes that "history is a living whole. If one organ be removed, it is nothing but a lifeless mass. What we have to find in it is the relation and connection of the parts. We must learn how age develops into age, how country reacts upon country, how thought inspires action, and action modifies thought." In these pages one reads not only a mere enumeration of events, but the philosophy underlying the events. Men's actions are actuated by thought, and it is this guiding thought that the author endeavors to reveal. How far he has succeeded will be of course a matter of opinion with each individual reader. And although many will not agree with his conclusions, they will find his premises interesting. Many an old prejudice is dissipated, many a long accepted hypothesis is refuted. The author is a conservative and a monarchist. Does that partly explain the

interest his volume has excited among his countrymen in these days of republics?

In the opening chapter we read how Gaul came to share the life of Rome. "At the conversion of Clovis France began. Like her civilization, her religion was Roman, and that religion was saved: henceforth, throughout the centuries, the basis of religious France will be orthodox catholicism. In short, anarchy had been avoided, a governing power, rude though it was, had been created." Throughout his twenty-two chapters, the author shows how it was that orthodox catholicism which kept France from being "subject to those weakenings or long eclipses from which so many other nations have suffered. Her social structure remains solid and well balanced. The middle classes, her great strength, always renew themselves in a short time. After all her convulsions, often more violent than elsewhere, she quickly returns to order and authority for which she has a natural taste and instinct."

When closing the book, the question naturally rises: Why could not the history of our own country be so written? The answer may be because she is too young. Now that immigration has practically ceased, America will be forced to live and work on her own strength, not depending on a transfusion of foreign blood. Our destiny is now in our own hands. May we meet the problems of the future by providing for the necessities of the present with that fair-mindedness and conservatism which should be our inheritance from a blending of the nations, a blending to which France has made no small contribution!

J. F. L.

An Outline of Modern European History. By Halford L. Hoskins, Ph.D. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. Pp. xi + 380.

Professor Hoskins publishes here the topical outline and suggestions for study which he uses in his classes at Tuft's College. Trained in the graduate school of the University of Pennsylvania, he is an exponent of the most modern historical methods. He views his subject with the contagious enthusiasm which insures teaching ability.

In this outline he lays emphasis on two points in the study and teaching of history, that of map-study and of note-taking. He advises map-study not alone on colored plates but by filling in outline maps to impress relationships upon the mind of the student. He stresses the quality of the historical note-book as determining the character of the historical student. Toward the end of systematic note-taking he offers suggestions on method that are already in use in his own classes, at the University of Pennsylvania, and at Ohio State University. Unlined side-opening loose-leaf note paper of the standard filing sizes, preferably 5x8 inches for average sized writing, written on one side only, is used the long way of the paper. At the top near the perforations a line is ruled for heading; at the left side about an inch margin is left for page and book notation from which the notes are taken; at the right side a light ink line is drawn about one-fourth the distance from the edge which may be ignored if preferred or used to distinguish from the student's own summary actual quotations from the text being read. The left margin serves as an index which together with the cross-references made upon it makes the material available in standard filing cabinets when the notes outgrow their leather cover. To many students this note-taking advice is doubtless superfluous but to some who get lost in the mazes of their own notes this method is worth trying. Professor Hoskins could well have given more definite suggestions as to indexing the notes, for good indexing is itself an art which unhappily is too rarely understood even by people who publish books. Material that is not well-indexed may just as well be non-existent.

The second and main part of the book is devoted to the topical outline, bibliography, and a list of subjects for theses. The outline begins with the philosophy of history and the classical and medieval backgrounds and proceeds through the events in Europe from about 1500 A. D. to the present time. The treatment is not strictly chronological but rather subjective—by movements—which must necessarily be interpretive. In such a long period there are naturally numerous "facts" which are disputed or ignored by many writers but there is even more disagreement of the interpretation and significance of facts. Therefore, probably no teacher could ever approve whole-heartedly of another's selec-

tions. Even in the wording of phrases a different choice would frequently be made. For example, the phrases "Proselyting activities of the Roman Church" and the "Traditions of Rome: extinction of rival churches" could well be changed on p. 41 because such terms are not true. Nor should Abelard take precedence over Thomas Aquinas (p. 52) as the sole exponent of the Scholastic movement since his influence has been neither so great nor so enduring. But a teacher who followed the outline in general would be able to impart a very adequate account of European history, especially if he were familiar with Guilday's superb *Introduction to Church History*, which was published just as this book went to the printer, and with Godefroid Kenth's *Church at the Turning Point of History* in Day's translation.

Professor Hoskins' bibliography, quite general and practical as it is, makes a few omissions which ought not to occur. Even to a person who does not think that "Europe is the Church and the Church is Europe" it must be obvious nevertheless that the Church has had considerable influence upon Europe and therefore her history must be taken into consideration whenever European civilization is being discussed. Even if Professor Hoskins does not feel justified in introducing such distinctively church historians as Alzog, Duchesne and von Pastor and Ehrle, he cannot properly ignore the two books mentioned above nor such works as Gasquet's and the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. To include Lea's *History of the Inquisition*, for example, and to ignore Vacandard's is to give an unfair presentation of a controversial subject. Another bibliographical error was noticed in listing Bernheim's *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode* as *Exposition of historic method* (Trans.) So far as search in the American, British and German catalogues shows Bernheim has yet to be translated.

The very great advantage of this outline method of teaching history is that it furnishes the student with a broad conception of the subject, thus supplementing and guiding his own conclusions from various writings suggested, and enabling him to develop critical judgment. It may be compared to the laboratory method in science by putting the tools into the student's hands which he will need to use if he is to become a professional historian. It develops a nicety of judgment of relationships and

values, of credibilty and suspended judgments, which is a most valuable object of college training. In attaining this object through the study of modern European history, Professor Hoskins' outline is excellent and should prove very useful to classes which depend on more than one text book.

M. T. M.

Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States. By Bessie Louise Pierce, Ph.D. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. xi + 380.

The fluent state of American thought about propaganda and prejudices is one of the healthiest signs in our country. Month after month our leading periodicals feature articles which are a challenge to prejudices of all kinds particularly in the so-called social science fields. The struggle to overcome narrowmindedness and provincialism is real. The destructive effects of hatreds are recognized quite generally by people who think. Continual repetition of the value of truth for its own sake cannot but elevate the whole people to a level of civilization which will eventually approximate the Christian ideal of mutual love and charity for all creation because of its ultimate end in the Creator.

The tendency of the finer minds is undeniably toward this ideal but that a vast distance must yet be travelled by the majority is just as obvious from the same periodical publications. Where an impassioned plea for the conquest of the passions of distrust appears in one issue, a repetition of Pilate's quibble "What is truth?" appears in the next to be followed shortly by a distorted jumble of half truths intended to drive men back to the pagan hatreds and barbaric jealousies which, were it not for the prince of evil, would have disappeared forever nineteen hundred years ago.

To face the fact of prejudices, to state them boldly and fairly is at once a courageous and a very desirable thing to do. Miss Pierce has proved herself both brave and broad. She threads her way so skilfully through the webs of entangling temptations to favor that her book is not only a thoughtful commentary but a history of a movement or rather of a phase of human char-

acter which has leaped to the surface with us during our war-time eruptions principally. The mirror she holds up to us has closer affinity with truth than with flattery. The narration of the way whither we have come and the road upon which we are to advance proves the need of careful and fearless decision by each of us. Why do we teach history? If we fail to establish individually a philosophy of history we shall be unable to control the course of future history,—including our relations with the rest of the world,—toward a better understanding than we have so far experienced.

The question, what is public opinion? must arise inevitably in establishing a judgment of the adequacy of this book as well as in determining the method to be used in the correction or improvement of national conduct. Is public opinion imposed upon us by the wealthiest among us through well-paid advertising agents as Walter Lippman inquires in *The Phantom Public*, or does it arise from individual thought as we like to assume. Besides the inquiry as to origin there is the question as to who it is who expresses public opinion. Is it the periodicals and publications of the time or is it the private thought of individuals expressed to each other in so far as that differs from public ideas? Miss Pierce limits her discussion to printed articles in periodical literature, reports of official hearings, and expressions of opinion by spokesmen of semi-public organizations. Here is at once the defect and the value of her investigations. The difficulty of arriving at opinion expressed otherwise than in the sources she has used is obvious yet to limit the discussion thus arbitrarily is to fail to tell the whole story.

The problem of patriotism as a beautiful sentiment and its abuse as flagrant nationalism (perhaps the next heresy to be condemned as someone has said) the problem of world uplift, improvement, education, or conversion to Christianity in spite of the perils of imperialism, the problem of international peace in Christ in conjunction with just government in political subdivisions authorized by the same source, and the true solutions to them, must necessarily affect the philosophy of history, writing and teaching. Over-emphasis and underestimation both are culpable methods. Toward the establishment of truth before all else, this book is an excellent contribution which can be read very

profitably not only by historians but by all who think. Honesty is not merely the best policy; it is also a divine maxim. History being the narration of life, can never be freed from the moral obligation of the Ten Commandments which are the rule of life. Logic demands the corollary that public opinion which ignores the teaching of Christ will defeat its own end in teaching history.

Miss Pierce's book is all that such a study should be. It breaks virgin soil in a very systematic, broadminded, and thorough manner. Treating, as it does, of many current discussions, it is the first word rather than the last word on the subject, but it is none the less valuable for that. It is particularly deserving of the attention of Catholics whose vagaries in the subject have occupied widespread attention on more than one occasion, sometimes justly, sometimes not so admirably, but always under the spotlight of never to be avoided "public opinion" as illustrated in this book.

M. T. M.

Highlights of American History. Vol. 1. America 1492-1763. By J. Carroll Mansfield. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1925. Pp. 140.

This is a publication of the pictorial method of teaching history, being the first volume of the historical cartoons that are running in many American newspapers. The method is new but none the less worthwhile according to the testimony of the Yale University Press who are doing similar work, on a much broader scale in their *Pageant of America* series. It seems to have a psychological appeal to the American mind which reads tabloids in wholesale quantities and spends millions on monies. The interest aroused by pictures may be valuable but is the impression they make sufficiently lasting to be cultural? This is a problem in the learning process not yet solved.

Consequently an estimate as to the value of the book cannot be made yet. For its historical accuracy the author has depended on standard histories widely used throughout American schools. His data is therefore generally acceptable. Wherever differences of opinion occur due to advanced investigations the quarrel must be made with his sources, Bassett, Montgomery, Channing, Muzey, Woodrow Wilson, and company rather than with the author.

The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades. By John Kirtland Wright, Ph.D. New York: American Geographical Society. 1925. (Research Series. No. 15). Pp. xxi + 563.

This volume represents the work offered as a doctoral dissertation at Harvard University under the principal direction of Professor C. H. Haskins. Combining the best modern features of geographical study with an extensive reading of the writers of the Middle Ages, it is almost encyclopedic in its field. To be adequately appraised it makes tremendous demands on a reviewer. A mere list of the writings commented upon is formidable. Strabo and Crates, Ptolemy and Macrobius, precede John Scot Erigena, St. Augustine, St. Isidore of Seville, Venerable Bede and Orosius in establishing the background. The reconciliation of the physical world with Genesis was a theological dispute then as now, but, contemplated with the eyes of faith, it was not so soul-destroying then as it has become since. Rather, by turning man's eyes upward rather than inward it increased his humility at the expense of his mental arrogance.

In the narrative of the growth of geographical knowledge, Dr. Wright finds that St. Thomas' visit to India may or may not have been true, but that the Middle Ages believed him to have been there, and confused part of those details with Prester John's story. St. Brandan's journey across the Atlantic is, he believed, legendary, still lacking proof. But he states quite decidedly that Icelandic rovers reached America in the latter years of the tenth century. A point that might well have been considered here, since it arises at the beginning of the Crusades, is the possibility of Norman contacts with the Norsemen, probably kinsmen, both daring adventurers on stormy seas, and living on the ocean shore. The theory that inhabitants of Northwest France were early fishermen off the Banks of Newfoundland may be due to the experiments and influence of Lief Ericson and his associates across the same waters. Since Norman character, though ruthless in many respects, had such progressive effects not only in France and England but also in Sicily and south Italy, perhaps it may have spurred on Columbus to a greater degree than it has been generally credited. At least it is worthy of comment.

Dr. Wright attributes to the Normans in Sicily much of the knowledge of Moslem theories of geography through Roger's patronage of Al-Idrisi, or Edrisi. From the Sicilians he believes with De La Roncière that the Genoese obtained much of their knowledge of navigation which made them world explorers.

Coming to the period 1100-1250 A. D., under investigation, he devotes a chapter to a criticism of the medieval writers he studies, in addition to his superb bibliography at the end of the book. Chapter IV, beginning with an estimate of Peter Abelard, Hugh of St. Victor, Hildegard, the 11th century abbess of Bingen on the Rhine, and Peter Lombard, continues through the Chartres school, Arabic and classical translators, encyclopedias of the period, such as the *De Imagine mundi* and Lambert's *Liber Florides*, and a consideration of the sagas and epic poems and letters of travel which were such a mine for the imagination and an incentive to the activities of the medieval people. The maps of Canon Henry of Mayence and Matthew Paris with others equally influential have their own sub-section.

Part II is the main portion of the book and comprises the actual findings of the author in geographical knowledge—the meteorology and climate, waters and zones, astronomical knowledge and regional geography—as described in the sources. Each phrase is so exact, each paragraph so unified, each chapter so pregnant with facts, that the whole is itself a résumé and cannot well be further abridged. It deserves to be read and indeed it cannot be ignored in the field of historical geography.

As a contribution to knowledge this book is important. Beazley alone in English in his three volume work *Dawn of Modern Geography* has staked a claim in this mine but Beazley has done very little with geography as a science. This book in one volume places conveniently a well-rounded study of an important subject, with wide reading supported by extensive quotations and notes, and as fine a bibliography as has appeared in any similar text. With the thoroughness of the investigation according to present standards there can be no complaint. With the author's conclusions, based as they are on careful consideration of the facts, there can be little quarrel, except possibly in minor matters such as his differences of opinion with Father Betten on St. Isidore's

"faithful representation of the main tenets of Ptolemy's theory" and the dispute between St. Boniface and Virgil of Salzburg, both subjects having been discussed in previous numbers of the *Catholic Historical Review*. Dr. Wright has produced an excellent publication, creditable to himself and to his advisers.

An interesting and not altogether usual feature is that the Biblical quotations are made from the Rheims and Douai translation of the Vulgate.

The Negro in South Carolina During the Reconstruction.

By Alrutheus Ambush Taylor, A.M. Washington: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. Pp. 341.

This book attempts to determine the facts and influences which affected the new negro citizens of South Carolina after emancipation. It approaches the subject from the negro standpoint and is therefore novel and interesting. A judgment of the value of the dependability of the sources listed at the end of the book furnish at once a key to its value and its limitations. The bibliography is arranged in the following order: Diaries, Personal reflections, Letters; Minutes of Church conferences; Statistics of Churches and Church Societies; Church Histories; Announcements of Schools; Works Relation to Negro Education; Books of Travel by Americans; Books of Travel by Foreigners; Magazines; Newspapers; Memorials, Proceedings, Reports; Miscellaneous Works; Public Documents. The inverse order of the arrangement of sources is intentional because the author feels that the public documents of the time are not reliable nor adequate in their treatment of the negroes. He has therefore turned to other sources, largely personal opinions of travellers or observers, for description of negro conditions. The curious feature of the opinions quoted is that they are practically all favorable to the negro. The suspicion that lacunae exist in the bibliography of personal papers is confirmed by the omissions in the bibliography of church histories and similar material. The Baptists and Methodists are well represented by reports and statistics, but the Catholic Church is not mentioned.

The temptation on the part of the reader to accuse the Catholics of neglect arises until one remembers that this is the diocese of Charleston at the bar. The conviction is confirmed that the author has not told the whole story. To have omitted references to Bishop England and his schools for colored children forced to close by public opinion, his Masses and sermons for the colored population, to pass unnoticed the foundation of the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy for work among colored orphans and in industrial schools for colored girls, to ignore Bishop Lynch and his dedication of a church for the colored people of Charleston, is to present an indictment of neglect against the Catholic Church unsupported by the facts. Obviously the omission of reference to Catholic work is due to lack of information and thorough investigation rather than to prejudice for the one reference made to Catholics appears on p. 10 and reads as follows:

Among the Catholics, moreover, George Rose did not find such segregation even among adults. Speaking in 1868, he said: "Many of the negroes are Catholics; and though in some of their churches they have galleries to themselves, yet there is not that broad line of demarcation drawn between them and the white races in the House of their Father that is so general in the North; nor is the feeling against them at all inveterate." (George Rose, *The Great Country of North America*, p. 172.)

Such an allusion should have put the author on the alert to discover more about the Catholics. That it did not, and that there are other omissions and lack of discrimination in the use of sources is the great fault of the publication. Otherwise it is extensive and important in the new angle of its subject matter and well worth reading. Doubtless in future investigations in a very important field by an author so well favored with enthusiasm and many qualities advantageous to a historian, there will be an improvement in historical method over this first book. In the interests of unimpeachable scholarship, an author should not rush into print too soon, else the importance of his cause is diminished.

The United States. By William H. J. Kennedy, Ph.D., and Sister Mary Joseph, Ph.D. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1926. Pp. xv + 685.

The authors have compiled a textbook for the use of the upper grades of Catholic schools. Intending their first book, *America's Story*, to convey a general idea of the history of our country to younger students, they depend upon this book to give a detailed and reasoned understanding of the United States as a nation of the present day. Their purpose is to impart information. They define their aim in teaching history as the building of good citizenship. Since to be a good Catholic is to be a good citizen, the authors have shown good reason for respect and admiration for the Catholic part in the development of America while proving the United States as a nation to be worthy of one's best sentiments. Two reasons have doubtless prompted the authors to offer their book for Catholic schools; one being the dearth of texts which give Catholic deeds their true value,—the other, that while emphasizing Catholic activity, they have not included discussions of sectarian movements in the United States as such. Judgment as to their accomplishment of their end must be based on the value of the book as 1) a textbook, 2) for upper grades, 3) of Catholic schools, 4) in building good citizens.

A textbook implies fidelity to fact. Important movements must be treated at greater length than less influential details. This requires narrative in history, a consecutive list of events, which must be accounted for, and interpretation of the facts. A history textbook demands first of all truth and truth must come from a statement of all the facts. Omission or over-emphasis of important matters results in untruth. Interpretation of facts has implicit connection with the individual mind. Insofar as the mind is narrow the result will be prejudice; to the degree of its breadth the interpretation will make more allowances for better motives, in outstanding historical issues. Justice requires a nice sense of proportion and balance.

Dean Kennedy and Sister Mary Joseph furnish a very fair picture of the growth of the United States as a nation. They give, quite consistently, the reasons on all sides, so far as they have been disclosed by recent research, for such complicated

problems as the cause of the Revolution and of the various wars. They treat these wars from the standpoint of patriotism and yet they do not paint the heroes of war so brightly that they seem any more worthy of emulation than the heroes of peace. In line with more recent conclusions, George III is not such a *bête noir* as he used to be in school histories, yet he is not eliminated from his position as one of the chief causes of the revolt by his obstinacy. Benedict Arnold is given much credit for his ability and regretfully disclosed as a traitor disowned by American and British alike. Thus are various controverted points handled, with a definite striving for fairness and a refusal to enhance American patriotism at the expense of bearing false witness to hereditary political enemies. The careful discrimination with which they approach evaluation of important movements is obvious from their allotment of slightly over one-third of the book to the period of exploration and colonization and slightly less than one-third to the period since the reconstruction. As a text the book is fair-minded, liberal, accurate and conscientiously just.

Being intended for upper grades of grammar schools, the book utilizes the best methods of educational psychology and the teaching process. Its maps are frequent, to the point, supplementary to the subject matter, and attractive. The illustrations and plates are very carefully selected for authenticity and beauty. They almost tell the story by themselves. The chapters are short and inviting. At the end of each chapter the pedagogical addenda of questions on the text and so forth must inevitably arrest the pupil now and then and urge him to further knowledge. The simple lucid English is in itself a worthy achievement having but one possible fault,—that of rippling along so easily that the student is lulled into acquiescence rather than inquiry which is the beginning of knowledge. In the grade schools the duty of the teacher is to impart information leaving stimulation and urge to further knowledge to the higher schools. For the use of grade schools, therefore, this book is practically ideal.

The only reason that Catholic schools require special textbooks has been stated above. Textbooks which overemphasize Catholic activities are guilty of as much falsity as books which fail to mention the Catholic part in the community at all. They err in two ways, in holding the pupil who depends on them up

to ridicule and in giving an untrue opinion of Catholic accomplishments which is bound to be corrected through world-contacts often at the expense of confidence in all branches of Catholic truth. This text, where it errs at all in this respect, does so apparently in full consciousness from a conviction that the value of the Catholic Church in America is so generally underestimated that a definite statement of Catholic achievements is essential to the Catholic child if American public opinion is ever to deal correctly and justly with them. The authors state only well authenticated facts of Catholic action which are undeniable. They ignore however such movements in American history as the Mormon settlement of Utah and the German sectarian settlements of Pennsylvania and mention only Catholic generals in the Civil War, aside from the real leaders like Grant and Lee. They give excerpts of Catholic Church history without continuing the history of the Established Church and its successors after the Revolution. Such emphasis on the Catholic side is not so definite that it conveys the impression that the Catholics alone are representative of America but it does deprive the book of a universal appeal to all citizens. But this was not the aim of the authors. Intended for Catholic pupils, it can be placed in their hands with confidence that they will obtain from it an adequate knowledge of the political, sociological and economic aspects of the United States and of the Catholic Church as an integral part in it. But the book can be justly criticized for omitting equal reference to equally influential religious movements here for the same reasons that Catholics object to most non-Catholic texts.

Probably no one subject apart from religion is so helpful in the development of good citizens as history. Not to know what a nation has done in the past makes intelligent steering of its future course impossible. In a democracy which exists only through the will of its citizens, intelligence, besides morality, is the only guaranty it has of future success. Besides aiding citizens to be well-informed and intelligent, history inspires loyalty and patriotism which are essential to government. True history not only commands whole-hearted service to the nation, which is the essence of good citizenship, but tends to decrease race hatreds and international distrusts which defeat the peace and well-being of the country.

Dean Kennedy and Sister Mary Joseph, by their steadfast devotion to fairmindedness, justice, and truth, have composed a book which is bound to have a most desirable result in making loyal broadminded citizens out of the children who have the good fortune to have this as a required text.

Although the book almost teaches itself, it is accompanied by a *Teacher's Manual* which is in itself a valuable contribution to pedagogical literature. With such able publications as these, the future of history teaching looks bright indeed. In some not far distant day, thanks to such indefatigable authors, the disparagement of Catholic citizenship will not longer be able to find the numbers of spokesmen to which we have been so often forced to listen.

Jewish Influence On Christian Reform Movements. By Louis Israel Newman. New York: Columbia University Press. Pp. xxxvii + 706.

"Jewish influence on Christian Reform Movements," which constitutes the twenty-second volume of the Oriental Series of Columbia University has the advantage of studying a problem from a new and interesting angle. Jacobs in his "Jewish Contributions to Civilization" and I. Cohen in his "Jewish Factors in Western Civilization" have treated Jewish activity in the fields of commerce, science and arts. Dr. Newman studies it in the history of Occidental religious thought and institutions, its theology and ritualistic systems, as well as contributions made by individual Jews through the channel of Rabbinical literature to the rise and development of Christian Reform Movements.

His work is a vast mine of information and a work of real scholarship and thorough-going research. In its 706 pages every available kind of Jewish influence is worked out, beginning with the foundation of Christianity and ending with New Haven "Mosaism" and the Mosaic influence on American Puritan legislation.

In Book one, Dr. Newman describes "the sources, content and scope of Jewish influence, its transmission to Christianity and its particular bearing on the Carolingian Renaissance and Scholasticism. It was principally through the study of the Hebrew

language and literature that Jewish traditions were transmitted to Christian scholars, teachers and religious leaders. While this influence was far greater after the fifteenth century than before, Dr. Newman shows it was by no means minimal. Particularly interesting is Nicholas of Lyra, who probably did more than anyone else during this period to transmit Jewish literary tradition. Though a Franciscan he placed great reliance on the literal commentaries of Rabbi Salomon Isaac. Luther owed much to Lyra, and Dr. Newman points out, that in his interpretation of Genesis Luther followed Lyra point by point. Perhaps this has been the inspiration of that exaggerated couplet:

"Si lyra non lyrasset
Lutherus non saltasset."

The author makes Roger Bacon appear in a new role—"the leading Hebraist of the 13th century," and with a rather too much assurance and trust in second hand sources, traces out the influence of Judaism on the thought of the Medieval Scholastics. There is a faulty reference to St. Thomas on p. 115, and certainly Vincent Beauvais was not a disciple of Scotus. Much less was Bernard of Clairvaux a Platonist! (p. 102). And finally, though Bergson is a Jew, only one unacquainted with his philosophy would assert that he transmitted the "content of Judaism and the viewpoint of Jewish philosophy." (p. 124).

The second Book traces Jewish influences on the Catharist heresy, the Pro-Biblical and Wladensian heresies, the Pasagii and the Judaizers under the inquisition. Naturally, since the Catharist theology was anti-Judaic, Jewish influence could only be indirect. While Dr. Newman makes this admission (p. 133), it shows how very elastic his term "influence" really is. And this is meant to be a general criticism of his whole work. Sometimes "Judaizing influence" is attributed to an author if he knew Hebrew, if he knew the Old Testament, if he studied Hebrew, if he read the Talmud, if he quoted a Jewish philosopher and finally, if he wrote a polemic against the Jews. Such an elastic terminology has the advantage of reducing almost all influences to Judaism, but it has the disadvantage of coloring facts and leading to false conclusions.

The Reformers and the pre-reformers in their relation to Judaizing influence make up the subject matter of the third book. Huss, Dr. Newman writes, deviated in no way from the traditional attitude toward Judaism, namely treating it as an error, and yet Huss is credited with much Judaic influence: "The reliance of Huss upon the Old Testament for substantiation of many of his doctrines is evidence of his debt to its influence." (p. 444). Zwingli is spoken of as "one of the most distinguished students of Hebrew during the period of the Reformation," a fact which Dr. Newman this time very well bolsters up with facts. The same is to be said of his illuminating treatment of Michael Servetus and his relation to the modern interpretation of Sacred Scriptures.

Here and there are to be found details which need correction. A Dominican, for example is made interchangeable with a Carthusian in the person of Raymond Martin; and a Council of Arles in 851 is mentioned, though no collection of councils mentions it. These are only details and in no great way detract from the work as a whole which stamps its author as a real scholar and deserving of the highest praise for the trail he has blazed in giving the learned world an idea of Jewish influence through the Christian ages.

FULTON J. SHEEN.

History of Medieval Philosophy. By Maurice De Wulf. Translated by Ernest C. Mesenger. Vol. II. New York and London: Erngmans Green and Co.

The second volume of the *History of Medieval Philosophy* by the learned Louvain Professor, Maurice De Wulf, embraces the period between St. Thomas Aquinas and the end of the sixteenth century. Quite naturally, in a history of such amplitude only scanty mention can be given of even the great philosophers. St. Thomas Aquinas enjoys 29 pages of notice, Duns Scotus 19 and Roger Bacon 15.

What is particularly interesting and vital in a history of the Middle Ages is the attitude an historian takes towards what constitutes Medieval and Scholastic Philosophy. Dr. De Wulf made

it quite clear in his first volume that the two were not synonymous, Medieval philosophy emphasizing the temporal element, while Scholastic philosophy stressed the doctrinal content. The same distinction runs through the second volume and thus one has such divisions as those of Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, namely: "The Group of anti-scholastic philosophers" and "Some non-scholastic directions in philosophy."

Not all historians of the Middle Ages are prepared to admit this distinction and very recently Professor De Wulf found it necessary to come to his own defense in an article in the *Revue Neo-Scholastique* of Feb. 1927 in which he answers certain difficulties proposed by MM. Gilson and Sassen. The division adopted by the author, does, we believe, serve to give us a far better understanding of the period than any mere chronological one.

Particularly valuable is the chapter on Scotus which differs in a substantial way from opinions generally held concerning this philosopher. The researches of Pelster and Longpré have been utilized by Dr. De Wulf with the result that many of the imagined inconsistencies are smoothed away. "The important results of the critical examination of the works of Duns Scotus cast a new light on his philosophy. Contradictions disappear, the links with the past are seen, the constructive merit is more evident, and the whole setting is very different from that in which the genius of the Franciscan teacher has hitherto been placed." (p. 71).

The exposition of the philosophy of St. Thomas is complete and well done, though we cannot understand why Dr. De Wulf insists on speaking of the "pluralism" of Aquinas. This word has generally come to stand for a system of modern thought which denies that the multiple implies the one and which asserts that there are only "caches" in the universe—such is the definition given to it by Dr. Wahl in his work on Pluralism. Of course, what the author means, is the Scholastic "principle of individuation" which is quite another thing than pluralism as understood today.

While it might be asked whether a History of Medieval Philosophy should include the thought of the sixteenth century, certainly, no one will say that this work would be better without it. In a day when real Scholasticism is confused with decadent schol-

asticism, it is well to show how one became the other, and it is this angle that Dr. De Wulf envisages. (p. 263). "Scholastic philosophy declined," he writes, "because on the one hand its doctrine was allowed to become impoverished and on the other the forces which combined against it compelled it to take a back place." Then too, there is to be added the fact that the philosophy of the scholastics was held responsible for the vagaries of science. "The misunderstanding was inevitable: it remains in our own time. The scientists wanted to destroy a still powerful oak tree because it carried dead wood in its branches; the Aristotelians thought it was impossible to do anything to an ang-long tree, and that to despoil it of dried-up branch would be to deprive it of its life.

Scholasticism was vanquished for want of men, not for want of ideas."

Thus Dr. De Wulf concludes the second volume of his history. As research goes on, new light will be thrown on many of these medieval philosophers and the explanation of their systems will have to be recast. This will antiquate the work of Dr. De Wulf but certainly the fine understanding of what constitutes scholastic philosophy will never be antiquated. He has willed to posterity the distinction between Medieval and Scholastic philosophy, and every future historian will have to go far to prove his distinction unfounded.

FULTON J. SHEEN.

Heretics, Saints and Martyrs. By Frederic Palmer, Cambridge. Harvard University Press. 256.

In his Preface to this volume, Dr. Palmer says, in part: "Something of this case-study may perhaps be found in the following pages. The essays aim to show one and another line of thought as they were forged in the mind and soul of this thinker and that. They exhibit here no system; but they aim to point out, beneath the little systems which have their day and cease to be, the bond of unity among all their diversities, the bond of a deep soul-breathing consciousness of close fellowship with God. What may be called the humanization of church history results in the revelation in it of this unifying divine element."

The book consists of seven essays of which the titles are the following: 1. The Anabaptists and their Relation to Civil and Religion Liberty; 2. Joachim of Floris, and the Everlasting Gospel; 3. Angelus Silesius, and Der Cherubinischer Wandersmann; 4. Isaac Watts, the Hymn-writer of Puritanism; 5. Perpetua and Felicitas, Martyrs and Saints; 6. Mani and Dualism; 7. The Synoptic, Johannine, and Pauline Conceptions of Jesus.

The author points out that often it is unlooked for by-products that have more permanent effect on succeeding generations than the fundamental tenets of a given system. He sees in the characters whom he studies that in spite of differences, so great at times as to seem essential, there is an underlying unity of spirit of seeking for God which animates all of the characters that are separated so widely as the ones whom he describes, as regards time, place, and creed. The first six essays are occupied with persons so totally different in every respect that it is hard to see much continuity in their points of view. The bond of unity that Dr. Palmer stresses is their desire to seek and find God. In the last essay, the author makes the three "conceptions" of our Divine Lord different, so much so that they seem to be almost unrelated.

The style of the book is appealing.

However clear the bond among individuals so diverse may seem to Dr. Palmer, it is much to be doubted that this esoteric unity will be evident to those who find a certain inherent difficulty in uniting the Anabaptists with mystics, that is with those whom the Church would acknowledge to be mystics in her sense of the word.

The essay that deals with SS. Perpetua and Felicitas is sympathetic, and has charm. In the essay that deals with Mani and his system of dualism, the author makes several statements that are flatly opposed to Catholic theology, and would tend greatly to mislead the casual reader. In the essay on Isaac Watts, the Puritan Hymn-writer, Dr. Palmer shows the wide influence that such persons have exerted on Protestant thought, quite apart from the fact that many of them have been in no sense theologians.

As individual essays, these pieces are interesting, and distinctly well written; but it is hard to feel that any attempt to

minge such separated subjects and fuse them into a whole is in any way successful. Not a few statements that express traditional non-Catholic opposition to Catholic truth may be excused on the ground that the author has received them as traditions and has not questioned them. But to take the words, "heretics, saints, and martyrs," and to posit an essential unity of meaning in those who are chosen to exemplify these qualities, granted that the words are to be taken in their usual sense, is too great a task, since many of the points made by the author are obvious contradictions in terms.

F. W. DICKINSON.

The Maryknoll Movement. By Rev. George C. Powers. New York: Maryknoll. Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America. Pp. xix + 167.

This volume is a dissertation submitted by the author to the faculty of the Catholic University of America in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts. It tells the story of America's response to the request of Christ: "Preach the Gospel." That call was not answered officially until the Church in America had herself emerged from the jurisdiction of *Propaganda Fide* in 1908. Up to that time, she was regarded by Rome as a missionary country. But with the *Sapienti Consilio* of Pius X, she put off the things of a child, and now in the full vigor of her strength, she is sending the very flower of her youth to carry to distant lands the light of that faith which is so gloriously shining at present in America.

We are told that the Faith of a country may be measured by the strength of its missionary endeavors. If that be true, we may think well of the condition of Catholicism in the United States. In less than twenty years, several seminaries for foreign missions have sprung up on our soil. Laborers are constantly being sent forth to carry the glad tidings to fields afar. Among these centers of missionary activity Maryknoll stands pre-eminent. Its founders, the saintly Fathers Thomas Frederick Price and James Anthony Walsh, several decades ago, caught the spirit of the Church's early missionaries. They emu-

lated an Augustine of Kent, a Patrick of Ireland, a Boniface of Germany. Others too they succeeded in inflaming with their ardent zeal, until now we have at Maryknoll a fully equipped Foreign Mission Society whose efficiency bears favorable comparison with that of any similar center in any country of the world.

And as Lydia and Phoebe of old helped the Apostle to the Gentiles, so also the women of our country have given of their best to the Maryknoll Sisterhood. Its members may be numbered among those "noble women not a few" whose services St. Paul so eagerly utilized. Their story is simply told. But their labors have already born fruit a hundred fold. We must not think of Maryknoll activities being reserved only for foreign soil. Our own land along the Pacific coast is profiting largely by its work among the Asiatics of that section. It is difficult to overestimate the benefit thus accruing to both Church and State in our country.

Every true historian must feel grateful to the author of this book for the bright page he has added to the ecclesiastical history of the United States. He has done his work well. Attractiveness of style he has not sacrificed to accuracy of matter. Numerous illustrations enliven the text, and the preface by Bishop Shahan is enlightening. The volume shows what quick results can be attained in God's service when to prayer and zeal are added intelligence and self-sacrifice.

J. F. L.

Church Historians. With a Foreword by Rev. Peter Guilday, Ph.D. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1926. Pp. vi + 430.

In his foreword, Dr. Guilday tells us that the present volume is composed of fourteen papers which were read at the annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association held at Ann Arbor in December, 1925. It includes biographies of ecclesiastical historians from Eusebius in the fourth century to Pastor in the twentieth. It was not easy to make a selection of subjects out of the five hundred and fifteen Church historians listed in 1925 by the late Bishop Stang for the students of Lou-

vain. The choice is felicitous, including as it does Eusebius from among the Fathers, Bede the Venerable, Las Casas the missionary, Lingard the scholar, Denifle the fearless, and Pastor the indefatigable student.

The volume makes pleasant and instructive reading, showing the price that has to be paid for scholarship, and the meticulous care with which the Church's story has been told down the ages from the days of the Fathers of the Church until the present when, owing to the far vision of Pope Leo XIII, the treasures of the Vatican library are open to all students.

We shall look forward to the next volume of this history of Church historians with expectation since the one under consideration makes us long for more. It will form a valuable addition to any library.

J. F. L.

Can the Churches Unite? A Symposium Published under the Auspices of the World Conference on Faith and Order. New York and London: The Century Co. 1927. Pp. 230.

If any proof of the completely chaotic condition of the non-Catholic churches were needed, this volume would furnish it in ample measure. The volume consists of eighteen statements, each by a leader in the denomination for which the author writes, in which each writer seeks to set forth his idea of the problem. The problem, all the writers agree, is this: Can the Protestant Churches unite in some common aim, with a common body of belief which shall be the minimum required of any believer? The answers to the question thus raised are as numerous as the writers. Some say that it is possible; others maintain that the movement must of necessity be slow, and add that this is well; still others say that there is already existing a real unity of believers, and that it remains only to make this unity apparent.

Certain points are obvious: none of the writers has the faintest idea of defining unity, or of suggesting a practical and definite way of attaining it. All are agreed that the "Roman" idea of unity is not only false, but also most undesirable.

One puts down the book completely dazed. It would seem that there was perfect unity and harmony, by comparison, when the confused tongues of Babel made for, shall we say, relative difficulty in comprehending just what one's neighbor was trying to say.

Most of the chapters are written pleasantly enough. Occasionally there is a stupid misinterpretation, based on complete ignorance, of the Catholic position. On the whole, however, the writers seem to be sincere in their desire to make the coming conference at Lausanne a success. Their chief object in holding this conference is to provide a kind of Forum where agreements and differences existing in non-Catholic bodies may be examined with a view to seeing what can be done about it.

Various programs are suggested, but nowhere is a term defined, nor has the reader any feeling of hopefulness that the conference will effect much. Opinions expressed vary from that which thinks that unity among non-Catholics already exists to the very cautious opinion that wonders if such amalgamation be desirable. No conclusion of any kind is reached.

As a means of getting some insight into the "platforms" and "programs" of our separated brethren, the book will repay a careful reading.

Mention must be made of Father Scott's chapter on the Catholic position. Here is set forth with admirable brevity and clearness the reason why it is not possible for Catholics to engage in such a conference. The chapter is argued well, and it ought to make clear the position of the Church, if it does nothing else. Incidentally, Father Scott's chapter is the only one that states the question and defines it. This he does so plainly that any unprejudiced reader can not fail to take in the lines of the Catholic argument.

The other writers in the symposium are beguiled by the lure of the Indefinite. One does not know after reading the book what is wanted, and there seems a rather ready substitution of committees for convictions in the whole plan. The purpose of the meeting would appear to be to have a pleasant and edifying talk which shall be both splendidly vague, and wholesomely non-committal. The word "Church" is used by every writer with

some different meaning, and "unity" varies correspondingly in value. Some of the writers advocate an amorphous unity that shall be inclusive, but which will avoid any treading on one another's toes!

The chapter which describes the "success of church union in Canada" is a statement of the plan that is now in operation, but one has difficulty in seeing just what the "union" has effected.

In some of the chapters one finds considerable "feeling," but one looks in vain for even a trace of logic. Many of the writers agree that there should be no creeds or definitions. Unity, apparently, is to consist of a kind of gregarious propinquity, in the midst of which the "principles" of Christ are to be followed, without spoiling the principles by defining them.

The book is printed well.

Just what purpose it will serve is not altogether clear.

F. W. DICKINSON.

Youth and Truth. By W. A. Harper, President of Elon College, North Carolina. New York: The Century Company. Pp. 235.

The author undertakes to write in vigorous defence of those who are known as the "younger generation." He begins his book with a chapter on the Spirit of Youth, which is most flattering to those about whom it is written. He attributes the following qualities to youth, as such, telling his readers that they will find them: openmindedness, courage, confidence, enthusiasm, the spirit of service, consecration and devotion, altruism, and various others of like value. In this first chapter, the author waxes somewhat sentimental, and makes not a few statements to which exception might be taken. Youth, with all its charm, is here a trifle over-idealized.

This introduction is followed by chapters on "Youth's Expectancy," "Interpreting Christianity to Youth," "Two Life-Principles in Contrast," "Removing Human Limitations," "Toward the Understanding of Jesus," "The Bible and the Church," "Religious Unity," and "A Growing Faith."

A quotation from Chapter V, p. 115, ffg., will give a fair example of the temper of the book: "The Catholic Church stoutly maintains that its pope is the personal representative of God in the world and that he has all the authority of the Divine Sovereign in deciding questions not only of religion, but also of science, philosophy, history, politics, and everything else. This attitude and concept does not produce initiative, originality, and forceful character in the men and women who accept it. The Catholic Church has produced saints and pietists, but it has not produced great thinkers, nor great constructive leaders for the development of the world. It has not, and it will not. It can not. Progressive Catholics are so in spite of their religion, not because of it."

The author pleads for broad, liberal, uplifting thinking. He points the danger that inheres in creeds, formularies, and minds cluttered with overbearing superstition. Then he writes a "Creed for Youth" which tells it what to believe, and how. The great means for improvement are: "Salvation, Service, Sacrifice."

The book is a sort of protestant apologetic that seeks to make a working synthesis between traditional protestantism, so to call it, and the most modern "views." It might serve as a discussion book for study-classes of the Y. M. C. A.

F. W. DICKINSON.

Forgotten Shrines of Spain. By Mildred Stapley Byne. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. P. 312 with a map and 67 doubletones.

Few American explorers in Spain have uncovered richer treasure than Mrs. Byne has done in *Forgotten Shrines of Spain*. The very names of the shrines roll in the imagination as well as on the tongue.

The book delights eye and touch. The orange yellow edges of the covers throw a glow on the bold-printed pages, it balances well in the hand, and the illustrations make a happy gallery. The setting even to the charming foreword promises an intellectual treat.

The volume has many valuable artistic, traditional and historical notes. Unfortunately they are mere seasoning. The mass is a congeries of sign-posts, small chit-chat, complaints about transportation, lodging and cuisine, of tiresome recitals of the opinions of cooks, porters and country folk, and most distressing of all, irrelevant items about priests, monks, nuns, relics and miracles. None of this is seriously offensive, but it is all lumber and deflects the aim of the book. One wonders, after absorbing the innuendo, how inconsequent though lovable monks produced in some cases and still maintain the amazing structures the book acclaims. The author really proves too much. Innocence is habitually mistaken for greenness, an amusing instance of which appears on page 54 et seq. A peasant boy born and bred in Spain, but with three years of sojourn in France and one in Italy, in seminaries though it were, and with a violent missionary urge toward America, is introduced. His simplicity is tenderly apologized for as though even a peasant boy could be entirely raw after four years of residence and study in two cultured foreign countries. This yokel reminded the author that Shakespeare was a Catholic, whereupon she naively remarks: "So Shakespeare was really a Catholic? I never read that myself." And the Spanish peasant lad replied, "'We Catholics,' he assured me with great superiority, 'get only the truths of history.'" Is it too much to say that the author has some informing English reading before her concerning Shakespeare's religion, and that it is remarkable that a simple Spanish country boy's reply might have come verbatim from the lips of Mr. Hilaire Belloc.

The volume is marred with such gaucheries and with bits of misinformation tossed off as gospel. Jesuits are not monks,—and are seldom bores, as she brands the Jesuit whom she calls a monk; the figure of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico is not "a blackened wooden image" nor an "Aztec image," nor was it "found" by anybody, nor is it "adored" by anybody.

The reader rises from a half hour with the book with a sense of blankness. He asks himself what about the shrines. He can have no definite mental picture of any particular shrine unless he gathers together the disjointed fragments and arranges them

for himself and that should be the author's work, not the readers'.

The illustrations are excellent; regardless of text they are wonderfully worth while. These reproductions with, say one hundred pages of text of the reverent and scholarly character of E. Allison Peer's notable book *Royal Seville*, recently issued by Harpers, would be a joy to all aficionados of Spain just because "they love her stones and feel pity for the very dust of her." It is a pity that *Forgotten Shrines of Spain* does not approach that high standard.

The author means well no doubt, but pavements made of good intentions are notoriously fatiguing. She fails to capture the soul of Spain or the spirit of the shrines and is therefore lifeless as literature and chilling as art, and the book at best, so far as the shrines are concerned, a mere filing case for certain facts, dates and details, which indeed is no mean function.

MICHAEL J. RIORDAN.

Vivid Spain. By Joe Mitchell Chapple, with original etchings and drawings by Levon West. Boston: Chapple Publishing Company, Limited. Pp. xii + 231.

Under this striking title, Mr. Chapple presents a racy record of impressions received during two rather comprehensive tours through Spain and Morocco. It is an attractive and informative book bristling with episodes of a country whose appeal is entrancing, and he tells us in the Foreword that Spain is a country where "we discover pleasure in leisurely living, romance, poetry, lack of unkind criticism, childlike sympathy, and a hospitality which is the noblest attribute of a magnificent people." He assures us at the outset that the purpose of his book is simply "to have the reader share the joys of many happy days in Vivid Spain." He tells us that "it is not a didactic or profound history, peppered with footnotes from mystic authorities, or fables agreed upon as a psycho-analysis of people." (We fancy that here he has in mind a recent pretentious "study" of Spain by an author whose lucubrations have been dubbed by a lover

of Spain as "an insipid Spanish *olla podrida*." *Vivid Spain* is written in a sympathetic mood, and it fills up many gaps which such studies as Allison Peers and Mrs. Byne have lately published. These appeal to the student, whereas Mr. Chapple's book aims to reach a larger *clientèle* who know little or nothing of Spain or its people or who, possibly, have been fed on Borrovian pabulum which is occasionally mentally indigestible. It is not a Guide Book in any sense; yet those interested in Iberian affairs and those who contemplate a visit to the charming land which possesses "much of all that is left to the world of romance, poetry, sincerity, and warm-hearted hospitality" will find it a veritable mine of information.

The chapter "With Zuloaga in His Home Studio" will interest the student of art. "The Ancient University of Salamanca" will appeal to the academic. His description of the ancient city of the *Vettones* is delightful, though the reviewer cannot share his enthusiasm for inns and accommodation. Possibly he did not reach the city in a rickety omnibus train which does service between Medina del Campo and Salamanca. Yet these unpleasant experiences are outweighed by the many glories of the city which is still redolent of historic memories. Mr. Chapple says of the once famous university: "When Europe was lying fallow in the bottomlands of ignorance . . . Salamanca was cultivating fields of higher knowledge and sowing seeds for a magnificent harvest that was garnered more or less by almost every nation of Europe." Those who desire first-hand information regarding Spanish politics will find "A Chat with Primo de Rivera, Dictator," most illuminating, for, in addition to a splendid etching of the Dictator, there is a statement by him which explains much that should be known: "The supreme object of the Dictatorship is to rid the country of politicians and those who have been living off the people through the manipulation of the legislative machinery in such a manner as to permit the political parties to alternate in holding power and absorb the revenues of the country, in appropriations of no advantage to the people. That is why we have no Cortes, or Parliament, in Spain under the present régime. We are trying the Dictatorship for a few years under a plebiscite signed by millions of Spanish men and women."

Cordoba, Toledo, Seville, Rhonda, and Granada receive generous treatment, and "Old Madrid" receives adequate notice. Whilst in Madrid Mr. Chapple had the privilege of a lengthy private audience with King Alfonso, and he sums up the policies and personality of the King, as follows: "My first thought," [said the King], "is for Spain, and the one thing for which I live and work is a united, industrious, and happy Spain." He continues: "Holding such sentiments and being unafraid and unwilling to send others where he himself would not go, the King is beloved of his subjects. He is trusted, because he does not abuse the prerogatives of his office and because he has shown repeatedly, in most trying crises, that he handles his responsibilities in a manner befitting a business executive, without, at the same time, compromising the dignity of a King. Conversant with modern methods the world over, his ideas with regard to politics, commerce, and industry are thoroughly up-to-date. Few executives, in fact, know more about the details of costs markets, and business management. He keeps an eye on the balance sheet of every industry in the country, and can tell in less time than it takes to wink an eye whether it is gaining or declining" (p. 94).

Mr. Chapple, in addition to his notes on Spain, gives us some very interesting data on Morocco and particularly on Andorra, the Tiny Republic in the Pyremees. The reviewer knows nothing of the Tiny Republic from actual observation; but ere this will have reached the reader's eye, he hopes to utilize some valuable data supplied by the author of *Vivid Spain*, for a visit to Andorra.

Apart from the literary value of this volume, it has more than a hundred illustrations, thirty of which are etchings by Mr. Levon West who accompanied the author in his periprinations. The reviewer cordially recommends this attractive book. He has covered most of the ground which the author describes. Of course, there are in such a discursive volume many items that need revision; there are some misprints and occasionally the author's Spanish terminology needs correction. These, however, are but unimportant matters which in nowise detract from the value of the book.

P. W. B.

History of England. By George Macaulay Trevelyan. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Pp. xx + 723.

This is particularly a "politicians' history," and the author seems to have no objective but the glorification of the obsolescent "Nordic Race." Every chapter of the book, which has real flashes of rhetorical brilliancy, seems to the reviewer subordinated to politics. Undue prominence is given such trivialities as ministerial intrigues and coalitions whilst great events of historical importance are scarcely mentioned.

Dr. Trevelyan tells us that "the original nucleus out of which the work has grown was the Lowell Lectures" delivered in Boston, in the spring of 1924. As an apology for covering so vast a field as the whole of English history in the course of seven chapters he says that a book such as he offers "is apt to be either a text-book or an essay." As an essay it may pass ordinary criticism. As a text-book it does not measure up to the standards that are demanded by the teaching profession in the United States. The reviewer has attempted to use it as a supplemental text; but it proved to be a *lucus a non lucendo*. Even to English scholars the book is a disappointment and one of them has even dubbed much of its contents as political claptrap! "To be candid," [says the writer,] "it is impossible to use any other expression for such *clichés* as the spirit of democracy, 'the growth of personal freedom,' 'societies not yet prepared for self-government,' and 'a land where men had learnt to think for themselves.' This sort of thing may be all very well on the political platform, but it is a crude technique for the historian, and constantly leads to careless thinking. It is quaint, for instance, to describe the Anglo-Saxon pirates of the fifth century as 'Pilgrim Fathers,' but it is not historical. Similarly, it is a convenient short-cut, but none the less an anachronism, to speak, without any qualification, of the 'State' in the time of Henry II."

Dr. Trevelyan is, of course, frankly Protestant in point of view; and this necessarily places him in the category of partisan pleaders. This, apart from the political obsessions stated before, renders him an unsafe guide for the student of English history. Possibly no chapter in the book emphasizes this state-

ment as that which is entitled "Interludes, Protestant and Catholic."

His treatment of the period which witnessed the sundering of ties between England and the American colonies evidences a deep study of the situation, though he does not devote to it as much space as it rightly deserves. Though teachers are not agreed as to the subject of "proportional discussion" in text-books of history, yet we feel that too much effort has been spent on the unimportant in Dr. Trevelyan's work. Another—and a very serious defect—is the fact that it presupposes considerable knowledge on the part of the student. As American students know little of England or its development the teacher would be called upon to waste a great deal of time and effort on "preliminaries."

The reviewer cannot resist the temptation to quote here a few paragraphs from an editorial (New York Times) which appeared some time ago discussing Trevelyan's work:

Historians are gradually rising to the level aimed at by Macaulay in describing the things that really matter in the life of a nation. Perhaps none of them has got to such a point as George Macaulay Trevelyan in his newly published *History of England*. There used to be a sort of illiteracy which kept historians in ignorance of most things outside the circle of kings, wars, lawmakers and executions. Trevelyan's famous great-uncle defended himself from the charge of "descending below the dignity of history" by including in his book an account of "the progress of useful and ornamental arts" and so forth, "the revolutions which have taken place in dress, furniture, repasts and public amusements." John Richard Green, in his *Short History of the English People*, states that he preferred to pass lightly and briefly over wars and diplomacies and the other stuff of "drum and trumpet history," to dwell on "the incidents of that constitutional, intellectual and social advance in which we read the history of the nation itself."

Both of these historians fought valiantly for more flesh and blood upon the dry bones of the story of the English people. But Mr. Trevelyan has gone beyond them. He feels no call to apologize or even mention what he has done. A part of this has been to show that one of the glories of England was her pioneering and her pre-eminence in music.

Macaulay has something to say of the "painters and statuary" of the period covered by his history; and of course more

about the poets and prose writers. Of the composers he has nothing. Green is eloquent about the revival of English letters, the "great poetic burst" of Elizabeth's time, but he is oblivious of the great burst of song that accompanied it. He never heard, apparently, what Trevelyan sets forth, that "Europe recognized 'Elizabethan England as the country of music par excellence.' Trevelyan knows, moreover, the 'genius of Byrd' and of 'whole troops of able composers in that great age of madrigal.' He suggests the influence of Handel and the extraordinary story of 'The Beggar's Opera,' producing a line of English popular operas lasting into the nineteenth century—operas which, ending with Gilbert and Sullivan, were 'truly national works in a 'period of strong foreign influence.' And he reads, finally, in the life of John Milton, 'how the three chief elements in the 'English culture of that day—music,' the classics and the Bible—combined' to inspire the God-gifted organ voice" of England." How much this implies of what the illiterate historians of former days have overlooked or ignored! It is well that their better educated successors are taking a more comprehensive view of things. History is looking up.

P. W. B.

NOTICES

(Selected volumes from this list will be reviewed in later issues.)

A Book of Old Maps, Delineating American History from the Earliest Days to the Close of the Revolutionary War, compiled and edited by Emerson D. Fite and Archibald Freeman, published by the Cambridge University Press at Harvard University is without question the most valuable publication which has ever come to us. As far as we know there is nothing similar to it in existence, and students of American History owe an immense debt to the industry and competency of Professor Fite and Professor Freeman. The collection, consisting of seventy-four maps, is a veritable geographic thesaurus, and it will help enormously to lessen the labors of teachers of American history who are confronted with the task of providing illustrative material for advanced students.

The contents of the volume are fittingly announced by the reproduction of the Preface to *Mercator's Atlas* (1633):

"This worke then is composed of **Geographie**, (which is a description "of the knowne Earth and the parts thereof) and **Historie**, which is "(*Oculus mundi*) the eye of the World. These two goe inseparably together, and as it were hand in hand, or as Doctour Heylin saith, are like "unto the two fire-lights **Castor** and **Pollux** seene together, crowne or hap-pinness, but parted asunder; menace a shipwreck of our content, and are "like two Sisters intirely loving each other, and cannot without pitie be "divided."

Excellent descriptive matter accompanies each map, together with copious bibliographical notes and references. The price is decidedly modest for such a valuable work.

With the exception of the Holy Bible no work has such influence as *The Imitation of Christ*. Hence it has had an irresistible attraction for historians and ecclesiastical scholars; and the British Museum estimates that it has had at least ten thousand editions since its original compilation in the early fifteenth century. Dr. Albert Hyama, Fellow of the Royal Historical Societies of England and the Netherlands, author of *The Christian Renaissance*, now offers a translation from a newly discovered manuscript which is published by The Century Co., (New York) in exquisite form. Dr. Hyama's Introduction sets forth that "this most famous religious treatise of the Christian Era" *The Imitation of Christ* is not the personal work of Thomas à Kempis. He says: "That Thomas à Kempis composed a part of it is . . . generally admitted. But how large a part was his is not known to anybody. That it will be ever known is highly improbable, unless science should open up new means of searching into the lives of men and women who left no visible record of their activities." According to the latest theories, (says Dr. Hyama) the real creator of the *Imitation* is Gerard Groote, founder of the Brethren of the Common Life, teacher of

Radewijns, and originator of the religious revival named *Devotio Moderna*. The following excerpt from the Introduction is particularly noteworthy:

Many editions of the *Imitation* have appeared in which a number of passages were eliminated, although nothing was said about such omissions by the editors. Protestant admirers have imagined that the work was a precursor of the Reformation, and that a few omissions would make it seem a Protestant book. But the plain truth remains that it was composed when Western Europe, the cradle of modern civilization, was still dominated by the Roman Catholic Church.

The Heretic's Defense, by Henry Preserved Smith (Charles Scribner's Sons), might be called "A Martyr to the Higher Criticism." In it the author gives the chief points in his life-story, as the points bear on his change in point of view. Beginning as a "Fundamentalist," that is holding to the theory of verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, he found himself led as a result of special studies to adopt a more "liberal" point of view. His studies finally led him so far that he was dropped from the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. He devoted much time thereafter to writing books and articles on various subjects connected with the Higher Criticism.

The significance of the book lies in the picture of what happened to a man who tried to follow the dictates of rationalistic theories, unchecked by any force outside of his own mind. Since, by definition, he accepted no interpretation of the text of Holy Scripture, he found himself baffled to know how to reconcile his findings with the theory of the denomination to which he belonged. Since his studies led him further and further away from the standard of belief required by the body to which he had owed allegiance, he found it necessary to withdraw from that body. This he did. He was tried for heresy, according to the constitution of his church, and left it to become a writer and lecturer in his chosen field of Higher Criticism. Essentially honest, and trying to follow his conclusions as best he could, his life shows the general course of those who try to combine honesty, scholarship, and private interpretation of the Scriptures. The fruit of such study seems to be the total inability of anyone to find anything but confusion in a system of thought and study that ignores the fact that the Scriptures can be interpreted validly only by the divinely appointed custodian of them, namely, the Catholic Church.

F. W. D.

Keep the Gate, by Rev. Joseph J. Williams, S.J. (Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago).

The cloth bound edition of this book has been on the market for over two years. So universal has been the appreciation of it that the publishers have thought it expedient to bring it out in a paper binding that it might be even more accessible to the general reader. While following the Ignatian method, Father Williams has so vitalized the matter as to make it appeal to the modern mind. We are particularly struck by the numerous stories and anecdotes with

which the author enlivens his text. And every Retreat master knows the effect of a good story to emphasize a truth. The incomparable value of the human soul is the dominant theme. The book can be used with profit by priests giving Missions as well as Retreats. In these days it is most necessary for all to know how to keep the gates of the soul closed against materialism and naturalism. It is well to remember that "the Lord loveth the gates of Sion above all the tabernacles of Jacob."

A Retreat for Nuns, by Rev. Walter Elliott, C.S.P. (Apostolic Mission House, Washington, D. C.)

Every priest, religious, and retreatant, will welcome this volume from the well known Paulist. It is the fruit of his ripe experience after many years of successful Retreats given by him all over the country. In handling the usual topics discussed during a Retreat, the author shows his familiarity with all the classics in our religious literature. We welcome two novel chapter headings: "Caring for the Sick" and "Sisterly Charity." Throughout the book a Christ-like love of the neighbor is inculcated. The appendix: "Retreats to Devout Societies and Domiciled Retreats" is particularly opportune when so many establishments for that purpose are being opened for men and women at home and abroad. The religious poetry interspersed throughout the book breathes the unction of the liturgy and is from the best sources. The suggestive reading at the end of each chapter will be helpful to both director and retreatant.

The Old World and American History. Pioneers and Patriots of America. Both by Rev. Philip J. Furlong, Ph.D. (William Sadlier, New York).

In the two volumes named above, both author and publisher have given us text books worth having. They have left nothing to be desired in matter and format. All modern educators are agreed that the history of our country cannot be intelligently learned without a knowledge of its historical background. Father Furlong's learning and experience have equipped him to tell in an interesting manner for the young the story of the growth of the new world out of the old. He has revealed also the debt we modern Americans owe to the fathers of our country, and the pioneers of our modern civilization. No teacher of history in the grades can afford to be without these books, while those schools that can afford to place them in the hands of all the students of history will do well in so doing. The questions at the end of each chapter will prove helpful to teacher and pupil alike. A good index and pronouncing vocabulary are also provided. The print is large, paper and binding are substantial, and the illustrations are copious.

Was Jesus an Historical Person? by Elwood Worcester, D.D. (Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York).

The author answers the question in his title in the affirmative. In handling his subject, he has maintained a purely historical attitude, all theology being disregarded. He has marshalled together the best historical evidence from both

friends and enemies to prove that the existence of Christ is neither a mere myth nor an empty legend. The author is Rector of Emmanuel Church, Boston, and as he avers, has within narrow limits "treated the subject with the utmost seriousness." However, the book should be read with reserve. A much more exhaustive and satisfactory treatment of the subject can be found in *Christ and the Critics*, by Felder, translated by John L. Stoddard.

J. F. L.

Translations From Old English Poetry, by Albert S. Cook and Chauncey B. Tinker. Revised edition (Ginn & Company, Boston).

Every serious student of literature owes a debt of gratitude to the joint editors of this book. They have made accessible to ordinary readers many a literary gem which would otherwise remain unknown. To the overwhelming majority Old English is a foreign language. We have here translated from it such exquisite bits of thought as "Doer's Lament," and "St. Andrew Goes Down to the Sea." Caedmon's "Hymn," Bede's "Death Song," and "The Dream of the Rood" find here a setting. Selections from Boewulf, Biblical poems, Saints' legends, mythology and charms are included, as well as selections from "The Christ," "Genesis" and "Judith."

The editors are to be congratulated on the matter and form of their excerpts. Beauty of thought is never sacrificed to dainty diction. The whole is stamped with the rugged grandeur of a people long enured to a life of daring, hardship and Spartan severity. It shows the richness of our language long centuries before Langland wrote and Chaucer sang. Truly a big legacy have our sturdy forefathers left us, the wealth of which this little book half conceals, half discloses.

Each selection is prefaced by an explanatory paragraph. There is a bibliography, four appendices, three indexes, and an instructive preface. Binding and print are all that could be desired.

Essai Historique sur les Exercices Spirituels de Saint Ignace depuis la conversion d'Ignace (1521), jusqu'à la publication du Directoire (1599), per Henri Bernard, S.J. (E. Desbarax, 24 rue de Namur, Louvain.)

Père Henri Bernard has indeed given us a history of the evolution of one of the greatest books in all literature. With the firm strokes of a real historian he traces the growth of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius from the time of its original conception by the author until Aquaviva supplemented it by the enlightening "*Directory*." This little book which ranks among the first of our spiritual classics, did not come into being at a single stroke of the author's genius. Like the books of Holy Scripture, as we have it today, it is the result of much editing and re-editing, drafting and re-drafting. These exercises were modeled and re-modeled to suit the needs of a vast variety of minds. They were tried on more than one ecstatic Favre and astute Xavier before they reached their present form. At the time of the death of St. Ignatius, they had passed through many alterations. Then Lainez, St. Francis Borgia, and Mercurian left their mark on the Exercises, only to be followed by Aquaviva, who added to the armory of the Society another weapon in the "*Directory*."

The author of this pamphlet shows us the flexibility of the Exercises. The matter for the different meditations, contemplations, and weeks is readily adaptable to minds as far apart as the mystic Surin and the ascetic Roothaan. The subjects treated are so psychologically arranged that they suit the man and woman of the twentieth century as well as those of the sixteenth. But is not one of the characteristics of a classic the fact that it can stand the test of time?

J. F. L.

Pâques 1926 en Russie, par Mgr. d'Herbigny. "Editions Spes." 17 Rue Soufflot, Paris.

Fragments of this book appeared last year in the July and August issue of *Le Correspondant* and *Les Etudes*. The interest they aroused caused the author to put into book form the account of his experiences in Russia during the spring of 1926. His pages make thrilling reading, vividly portraying as they do the Soviet Russia of to-day. Roman and Orthodox, Jew and Gentile, will regret the havoc wrought in the religious life of the Russian people by this modern form of government, if that can be called a government in which laws seem to be made only to be broken. Culture has been retarded, the civilization of centuries destroyed by the practical interpretation of baneful philosophy. But through it all the flame of faith is still flickering. Sane minds are still alert, and to these we look for a speedy resurrection of White Russia from the doom of bolshevism.

English Prose and Poetry. Selected and annotated by John Matthews Manly. Revised edition. Boston: Ginn & Company.

These selections range through all the centuries from Venerable Bede to John Drinkwater. They include many choice bits of English literature in both prose and poetry. We are evidently living in an age of anthologies, of which the present volume is but one, and that not a very satisfactory one for Catholic readers. We feel that but scant appreciation is shown to some of our best writers. Why, we may ask, has only one excerpt from Newman been given a place in nearly nine hundred pages? Surely Belloc deserves more than four short paragraphs from what many think not his best work! Mr. H. G. Wells gets almost as many pages. With some of the remarks in the editor's notes we can not agree. In the hands of a discriminating reader and an impartial instructor the book could well be used with advantage in a literature class, but to the casual reader it might be misleading on several points. Though thin paper has been used, it is opaque. The print and binding are good. Indexes of authors, titles, and first lines add to the value of the book for intelligent handling.

Music Appreciation in the Schoolroom, by Thaddeus P. Giddings, Will Earhart, Ralph L. Baldwin, and Elbridge W. Newton. Boston: Ginn & Company.

The title of this book explains its end and aim. It is a volume of the Music Education Series. When used intelligently, it should prove of immense help to

every teacher of music. The lessons are well planned and arranged in psychological order. The book is supposed to be used with victrola records especially made for that purpose. It represents a tremendous amount of labor on the part of the editors. Deep thought and no small amount of musical talent were necessary to put together the matter contained within these pages. The book is copiously illustrated, draws freely from the history of music to make its subjects both interesting and instructive, and even presents the notes of many a classical bit of music. The format is all that could be desired.

The Origin of the Right of Fishery in Territorial Waters, by Percy Thomas Fenn, Jr. (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.) is a doctoral dissertation and, as such, is evidence of great diligence and labor. It has been severely criticized by a reviewer in the *American Historical Review* who states, among other animadversions that "the author is obviously unfamiliar with the more recent and careful studies on his topic by authors such as Szklarz and Pernice."

The President's Hat, by Robert Herring (Longmans, Green & Co., New York and London) is supposed to be a book about Andorra, the tiny Republic in the Pyrenees. The author ventures into a field which he surveys rather superficially by narrating the adventures of two English pedestrians who set out on a walking tour to see the "President's Hat." This is the official headgear of the President of Andorra, preserved in a white cardboard box labelled "Columbia Cap Company, New York." As the writer of this note is interested in Andorra and its charming folk, the book was read very carefully. The analysis is briefly: "A tissue of meaningless twaddle with insipid digressions that display a large amount of sporadic reading largely derived from the customary guide books. The descriptions are not only inaccurate but idiotic. There is really little about Andorra but there is a lengthy record of the meetings of the pedantic pair with shepherds, innkeepers, smugglers and unimportant fry."

This seems to tally with the following sentence found in the opening chapter: "This is a book of ten days' life, and since one must always be defending in that, I say it now to defend myself against those who will take exception to the slipping-in of things foreign to such a realm, irrelevant morcels that the mind refused to discard."

A Wayfarer in Spain, by Alice M. S. Newbiggin (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston) is a volume of "The Wayfarer Series" written apparently to meet the needs of tourists to the southwestern corner of Europe. It is not a guide-book but the traveller will find it serves this purpose admirably. The description of Spain and its charming people is accurate, graphic, and sympathetic. Miss Newbiggin seems to have experienced the fascination which the "Land of the Cid" has for all who come within its borders. She has, evidently an alert mind, for it embraces the scenic, artistic and cultural phases of Spanish life which, in the opinion of the writer (who has travelled the country extensively) have few counterparts elsewhere. The narrative is simply written; and gives details of her own experiences among a people "who are delightfully friendly and kind-hearted, pos-

essed of charming manner, courteous and cordial." Her journey covered much of the eastern half of Spain, and her chapters dealing with Barcelona and Granada are of special value to the prospective visitor. This volume, in conjunction with *Vivid Spain* (reviewed elsewhere) forms a valuable contribution to the literature of Spanish "wayfaring."

The Teaching of the Early Church on the Use of Wine and Strong Drink, by Irving Woodworth Raymond (Columbia University Press, New York) is an attempt to an understanding of the attitude of the Early Church towards the use of wine and strong drink. So much rubbish has come to us from propagandists of the Volstead cult which seems to have become an obsession nowadays, that the title at once suggested an emanation from an arid source. We beg to assure our readers that this book is "neither dry nor wet propaganda." The book is not concerned "with the liturgical uses of wine, but with what the Church taught and legislated concerning the various problems which arose out of wine drinking, with such topics as drunkenness, temperance and total abstinence." We quote the following paragraph which embodies the conclusion arrived at by the author of this informative book: "In both Jewish and Christian views of life all nature is good and was created by God to serve the needs and purposes of man. Since all nature is good, every part of it must be good, and consequently wine was regarded as intrinsically good. This opinion is a direct answer to the beliefs of Gnostics, Enekratites, Manichaeans, and other heretical bodies who believed that matter was evil because it had led men into sin. The real offender is the moral agent who has abused the legitimate use of a gift of God, not an inanimate substance which in itself is incapable of performing moral actions" (p. 149). This volume will not receive the *imprimatur* of the "dominating influences" on the legislation of the American Congress.

The book is a splendid contribution to the cause of Temperance; but it deals a death-blow to the theories of so-called "moral reformers."

St. Boniface and St. Virgil, by Francis S. Betten, S.J. (St. Anselm's Priory, Washington, D. C.) is the second historical monograph published by the Benedictine Foundation at the Catholic University of America. The brochure is a revised reprint of addresses and articles by Father Betten. Chapter II, "Early Knowledge of the Sphericity of the Earth," was given at the Convention of the American Catholic Historical Association at New Haven, 1922, and printed in the *Catholic Historical Review*, New Series, Vol. III, pp. 74 ff. Chapters III and V embody an address at Columbus, Ohio, in 1923, and printed in the *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. IV, pp. 187 ff. Chapter IV, also an address, appeared in the Report of the Annual convention of the Jesuit Educational Association of 1924. All these articles have been thoroughly revised. The brochure offers substantial evidence that St. Virgil, the Bishop of Salzburg (the Irish Saint Fergil, Fearngihl) who was a conspicuous figure in his day, must not be identified as the Virgil who was at variance with St. Boniface or the Sovereign Pontiff.

Fifty Years in Conflict and Triumph, (Universal Knowledge, New York), published by the Xavier Alumni Sodality, is a record of the "Academy" held at the Hotel Biltmore, New York, to commemorate the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of Father Wynne's admission into the Society of Jesus. It is an incomparable sesquicentennial record containing a Retrospect by Father Wynne and addresses by Cardinal Hayes, Monsignor Pace (of the Catholic University of America), Dr. Williams (of the *Commonweal*), an Introductory, by Hon. John T. McTigue, and a Tribute by Editor Rev. Michael Clark, S.J. It is beautifully printed on high grade Warren paper, bound in vellum cloth, with a portrait of the jubilarian. Its contents are of enduring interest.

Histoire de l'Eglise, par Dom. Ch. Poulet, Moine Bénédictin de la Congrégation de Solesme in two volumes, illustrated, with an Atlas of Ecclesiastical History (Gabriel Beauchesne, Paris) is a manual of ecclesiastical history by the author of *Guelfes et Gibelins* that has received unstinted commendation. Dom Cabrol says in a Preface to the work:

"Sans avoir la prétention de dire tout ce qu'il y a de bon dans ces deux volumes, je signalerai le caractère vraiment personnel de certain chapitres qui prouvent que l'auteur est familiarisé par un long usage avec l'histoire ecclésiastique, et que des années d'enseignement lui ont permis de savoir ce que réclament des esprits encore au début des études historiques. Une heureuse disposition typographique attire, à chaque page soit par les titres, soit par les mots en caractères gras, ce qui doit fixer l'attention d'un lecteur distrait."

It is a work of exceptional merit; its only vulnerable spot is the treatment accorded to the Church in the United States, which leaves much to be desired.

Dom Poulet's work is being adapted for the use of American students, and with it, may possibly be incorporated, at least in part, a work already announced as being prepared by the Managing-Editor of the *Catholic Historical Review*.

The Shadow On the Earth, by Owen Francis Dudley (Longmans, Green & Co., New York and London) deals with the age-old philosophical question as to why there should be pain and suffering in the world. Father Dudley, whose earlier work, *Will Men Be Like Gods*, was so admirably done, adds another cubit to his apologetic stature by this volume. It is written in simple and plain language, and decidedly popular in its appeal.

Congress, an Explanation, by Robert Luce, Representative of the Thirteenth District of Massachusetts, (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.) is an authoritative discussion of Congress and its work. It treats of such topics as the introduction of bills, the workings of committees, procedure on the floor, the increase in law-making, appropriations of public moneys, and leadership in government. Mr. Luce makes, in addition to his explanation of the facts, several criticisms of this branch of our government and suggestions for its more effective functioning. It is a *multum in parvo*, valuable in content and attractive in form.

Those familiar with Professor Ernest Scott's *History of Australia* will welcome the author's *History and Historical Problems* (Oxford University Press, Melbourne, Australia). The volume consists chiefly of a series of lectures given to audiences made up largely of history teachers. It is not intended, of course, to supplant either Bernheim's standard work or the briefer work of Langlois and Seignobos on historical method, but for the English or American student it has features which make it very attractive. The author's viewpoints on many of the disputed items are quite impartial. Discussing the matter of bias, he says: "To be altogether unbiased is to be negative . . . The test of dependableness . . . is not the absence of bias, but the presence of good faith. . . . It is this good faith which makes sound history, not the dehumanizing of the historian by making him deciduous in respect to opinions, feelings, sympathies, and aversions."

Ten Years of Peace and War, by Archibald Cary Coolidge (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.) is a reprint of essays gathered from *Foreign Affairs*, of which he is the editor, from the *Yale Review*, and from the *American Historical Review*, covering an extended view of the European political field. The titles are "Nationality and the New Europe," "The Break-Up of the Hapsburg Empire," "Russia After Genoa and The Hague," "Two Years of American Foreign Policy," which recounts the first achievements of Secretary Hughes; "The Future of the Monroe Doctrine;" and "After the Election," wherein the advent of President Coolidge is discussed mainly from the point of view of its effect on our foreign policy. Recent happenings in connection with Russian intrigue, or perhaps, more accurately, Soviet perfidy, will not fit in with Professor Coolidge's viewpoint of the country of "the bear that walks like a man." Many years ago the writer of this note deemed Kipling the greatest British alarmist of the century. His appreciation of Russia has particular relevancy at the present time, however. Professor Coolidge seems to misjudge the nature of Bolshevism: the United States has lost nothing but gained much by its refusal to acknowledge the régime of the terrorists of the hour.

The American Civil War, by David Knowles (the Clarendon Press, Oxford) is "a brief sketch" of the greatest political upheaval which the United States has ever witnessed. The volume is worthwhile as "a sketch." It is a battle-history in the main, though it has some interesting character sketches of the heroes of the era. There is really nothing of the great economic problems which are of such importance. Written presumably for British school-boys and public it may be helpful in awakening interest in a topic with which Britishers as a rule are not very familiar.

The first volume of *Universal Knowledge* comes to us as we go to press. It is the first entirely new general reference work in thirty years. The need of a new work of this kind is obvious and it will, we hope, receive the support which it deserves. Great care seems to have been taken to make it as attractive as possible. In a later issue will appear an extended review of this splendid volume.

Contrary to accepted theories research has revealed the fact that the Middle Ages exhibit life and color and change, much creative accomplishment in art, in literature, in institutions. Professor Haskins in his latest work, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Harvard University Press) demonstrates that this period in particular was an age of fresh and vigorous life, which left its signature on the scholastic philosophy, on European systems of law, on architecture and sculpture, on the liturgical drama, on Latin and vernacular poetry. The volume is of unusual significance and value. An extended review will appear in a later issue.

Church and State in Mexico (1822-1857), by Wilfrid Hardy Calcott (Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina), has special significance at the moment because the events herein recorded are the background of conditions in Mexico at the present day. The author states that this study was begun at the suggestion of Professor William R. Shepherd of Columbia University, a recognized authority on matters pertaining to Latin America.

The Duke University Press has also forwarded us two other valuable publications: *Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain*, by Arthur Scott Aiton, and *Chile and its Relations With the United States*, by Henry Clay Evans, Jr. All three volumes will be reviewed in our next issue.

The Bridge to France, by Edward N. Hurley, Wartime Chairman of the U. S. Shipping Board and Member of the World War Debt Commission (J. P. Lipincott Company, Philadelphia), tells the story of the manner in which the United States provided and operated the oft-referred-to "Bridge of Ships." Mr. Hurley disclaims the title of "author"; and he presents this volume as a "business man." Would that we had more such presentations of intricate problems as Mr. Hurley has furnished! The book is of exceptional value and places within reach of students of present American problems many data which are not easily found elsewhere.

A History of American Foreign Policy, by John H. Latané (Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, N. Y.) gives a full and authoritative account of American foreign policy through the entire period of American history down to and including the Washington Conference of 1922 and the later settlement of the war loans. It is a vigorous interpretation of facts by an author who has made an exhaustive study of source materials, presented in most attractive form. Dr. Latané, who is professor of American History in Johns Hopkins University, is one of leading authorities on American diplomatic affairs and foreign policy. This volume will later be reviewed by an outstanding writer on foreign affairs.

Documents Relatifs à La Monnaie au Change et aux Finances du Canada sous le Régime Français, Choisis et édités avec Commentaires et Introduction, par Adam Shortt, Two volumes, French and English text, published by authority of the Secretary of the State of the Dominion of Canada under the direction of

the Archivist (Ottawa, F. A. Acland, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty). This publication is another proof of the industry and professional skill of Dr. Shortt and his capable aides in the Canadian Archives. The Introduction by Dr. Shortt is actually a history of the development of Canadian Currency and Exchange from the time that the Company of One Hundred Associates gave up their trading monopoly to the people of Canada (1645). "Then for the first time did money begin to be a central and determining factor in Canadian trade. Goods began to have uniform values, and regular prices were established for the chief articles, thus rendering practicable a general freedom of exchange, and the replacement of the cumbersome system of barter."

The list of documents begins with the ordinance of the Council of 1654—the first official regulation relating to Canadian coinage and ends with a State Paper issued during the reign of Governor Murray (1766).

In addition to the text there are eight full-page illustrations reproducing Bills of Exchange and Card Money of Canada from the earliest days of the French occupancy of the country. A double-column Index of a very detailed nature covering more than a hundred pages renders the compilation of special service to students of the monetary history of Canada.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The So-Called "Lost or Suppressed Books" of the Holy Bible.—Rev. Dr. Henry Schumacher, Professor of New Testament Scripture at the Catholic University of America, says in *The Catholic Standard and Times*:

The supreme and sacred task of the press should be the education of its readers to truth and honesty. But in these days a pernicious sensationalism appears to have become the primary purpose of our news service. It is deplorable enough that this sinister power plays havoc in the realm of profane matters. But when it invades the field of religious interest it becomes unpardonable.

One of our leading magazines (*World's Work*) recently published an advertisement with announcements which are misleading the large masses who are not able to verify the facts. We read thus in bold headlines: "The Lost Books of the Bible and Letters of Herod and Pilate are now offered free for the first time," or "The suppressed books of the Bible come to light at last."

In the text we hear the most astounding news: "Here is a book that is an event. Except for the Bible itself, there is no other book under the sun even remotely like it. * * * Readers should have an opportunity to become acquainted with these lost Scriptures. * * * Historians of the third century refer to many books of Scripture that have perished. We know that controversies arose and some of the writings were burned—oh, the pity of it! Of the surviving writings the Bible contains many. But the Bible does not contain by any means all that survives to us of these Christian writings. There are many others. These additional writings that survive which are authentic—even though they are not in the canon of the Bible—are here published in beautiful translations in *The Lost Books of the Bible*. * * * There are revealed in these vivid pages the sources of many Christian traditions that are not found in the Bible. Here are also the origins of countless stories concerning the birth of Mary, her marriage to Joseph. * * * Hidden for nearly twenty centuries in an Egyptian tomb, part of the vanished Gospel according to Peter has reappeared. Fresh, untouched by controversies, this is today the only story by an eye-witness of the Trial and Crucifixion of Jesus outside the Bible itself."

In the list of the "Lost Books of the Bible" we find the following titles: "Mary, Protevangelion, 1 Infancy, 2 Infancy, Christ and Abgarus, Nicodemus, The Original Apostles' Creed, Laodiceans, Paul and Seneca, Paul and Thecla, 1 Clement, 2 Clement, Barnabas, Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Romans, Philadelphians, Polycarp, Philippians, Smyrnaeans, 1 Hermas Visions, 2 Hermas Commands, 3 Hermas Similitudes, Letters of Herod and Pilate, Lost Gospel of Peter." The outlines of the contents of the various books are given in fascinating terms. It would seem as if we were confronted with startling discoveries.

What is the truth about this all?

These surprising announcements represent either an unpardonable attempt to deceive the ignorant masses or a formidable ignorance on the part of the writer. The titles "Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Romans, Philadelphians, Polycarp, Philippians, Smyrnaeans" have no relation whatsoever to the Bible. Neither are these books by any means new discoveries. Seven of these titles designate gen-

uine epistles, written by Ignatius, the celebrated Bishop of Antioch. Eusebius of Caesarea, who lived from 265-340 A. D., gives a detailed account of their origin in the thirty-sixth chapter of the third book of his Ecclesiastical History. He describes how Ignatius on his way to Rome, where he was to die for the sake of Christ, wrote these letters to the various Christian communities in Asia Minor. Naturally, in early Christian times these venerable documents were highly esteemed by Christians. They have been known and appreciated by Christians since more than 1,800 years, but they were never considered as books of the Bible.

"Philippians" represents a letter of Bishop Polycarp (†155 A. D.) to the community of Philippi in Macedonia which had asked the Bishop to send them any Epistle of Ignatius which might be in his possession. Also this is an authentic letter of the middle of the second century. It was always known as such but never taken for part of the Bible.

"Hermas Visions," "Hermas Commands" "Hermas Similitudes" are all three parts of one book, called "The Shepherd of Hermas." This is one of the few books that enjoyed so great authority in the early Church that some of the Fathers considered it as quasi-canonical, because of its sublime Christian principles. The author and the date of the book are unknown. But it was in circulation after the middle of the second century. Certain is this that the Church never officially accepted it as a canonical and inspired book. Eusebius enumerates it amongst the "notha," or spurious books; and Athanasius, in his thirty-ninth festival letter (367 A. D.) rejects it emphatically as uncanonical.

The "1 Clement" is a genuine Epistle of Pope Clement of Rome, the third successor of St. Peter, to the community of Corinth. It constitutes one of the strongest arguments for the primacy of the Bishop of Rome and was highly appreciated since early Christian times. But it was never officially recognized as a biblical book. "2 Clement" is an ancient homily, falsely ascribed to Clement of Rome. Early writers do not quote it as a work of Clement. It is known since the fourth century, but never enjoyed great authority, much less canonical value.

"Barnabas" denotes a work probably written in Alexandria. It pretends to be written by Barnabas, the companion of St. Paul. But the author had, as the contents reveals, no relation at all to the Apostle. It is probably written towards the end of the first century by an unknown author. Also this book was highly regarded in early Christianity, but the Church never recognized it officially as a book of the Bible.

The correspondence between Paul and the Philosopher Seneca (six Pauline letters and eight from Seneca) is an absurd forgery of the fifth century and has no relation at all to the Bible. "Paul and Thecla" refers to a work called the "Acts of Paul and Thecla," a document concocted by a presbyter of Asia Minor at about 180 A. D. It was, after a short circulation, condemned as apocryphal and the author deprived of his priestly dignity, as Tertullian informs us (*De Baptism*, 17).

"Laodiceans" is another worthless forgery of the beginning of the fourth century. It pretends to be the letter of St. Paul to the Laodiceans which is lost. St. Jerome condemned it and the Church never recognized it.

"The Original Apostles' Creed" is a very important document, although it was never considered as belonging to the Bible. The present text of the Apostolic Creed existed admittedly since the fifth century, and is an enlargement of an old Roman text, preserved by Rufinus, Leo the Great, and the "Sacramentarium Galasianum." This text was known in Rome in the second century and goes back to Apostolic tradition.

The correspondence between King Abgar of Edessa and Christ is another forgery, already known to Eusebius who records it in the first book of his *Ecclesiastical History*. It was never considered as a biblical book.

The "Protevangelion" refers to the "Protoevangelium Jacobi," a forgery in the name of the Apostle James, dating from the middle of the second century. It was never recognized as a book of the Bible.

"Nicodemus" refers to the so-called "Gospel of Nicodemus." The work known today under this title comprises two parts of various contents, which originally did not belong together. Both parts are forgeries of the fourth or fifth century and in their combined form bear the name of "Gospel of Nicodemus" since the time of Charlemagne, because Nicodemus is the hero of the narrative. They never had any relation to the Bible.

"I Infancy" and "2 Infancy" refer to the so-called "Gospel of Thomas" which is another forgery under the name of Thomas of the second century. Its description of the infancy of Christ is teeming with absurdities. It never had any canonical value in the Church.

The "letters of Herod and Pilate" constitute one of the many legendary stories surrounding the person of Pilate. They are absolutely worthless and have no relation to the Bible.

The "Lost Gospel of Peter" is another forgery of the second century with docetic tendencies. It was known to Origin, but had vanished until Bouriant discovered a large fragment of it containing the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, which he published 1892. Although it was used sometimes in orthodox circles for edification, it never belonged to the Bible.

This is the truth about the "Lost Books of the Bible," heralded by ignorance or fraud as new and authentic discoveries.

All these writings were known in the Church as so-called apocryphal writings, i. e., writings which falsely pretend to be documents of Christ or the Apostles, or disciples of Christ. The collection of the "World's Work" contains only a small number of all the stories known since ancient times. Besides those mentioned above, there is a "Gospel according to the Hebrews," an "Ebionite Gospel," a "Gospel according to the Egyptians," a "Gospel of Matthias," a "Gospel of Philip," etc. There are further to be mentioned: the "Kerygma of Peter," the "Kerygma of Paul," the "Acts" of Peter, John, Thomas, Philip, Matthew, Paul; a correspondence of Paul with the Corinthians, the recently discovered "Epistle of the Apostles"; the Apocalypses of Peter, Paul, Thomas, Stephen, John, etc.; the "Testament of the Lord," the "Apostolic Constitutions," etc.

Most of them are absolutely worthless from a historical or doctrinal standpoint. Many contain heresies and gross absurdities. Others have some value as far as they give us information about contemporary opinions and traditions. They all are of later time than the canonical Gospels, and do not tell us any reliable news about Christ and His Apostles.

Protestants call all those books "apocryphal" which they do not recognize as canonical. These are especially those writings which Catholics call "deutero-canonical." This term designates for Catholics all the books of the Old Testament which the Jews of Palestine rejected in the last century before Christ in their opposition against the Hellenistic Jewish Collection of the Sacred Books. The Catholic Church recognizes all books of the Jews, represented in the so-called Septuagint, as inspired. What Catholics call "apocryphal" Protestants call "Pseudepigrapha." For English readers there is a collection of the New Testament and Old Testament apocryphal books: M. R. JAMES, *"Apocryphal New Testament,"* Oxford, 1924, and M. R. JAMES, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament,* London, 1920.

"Peter's Pence."—In a "Plea for 'Peter's Pence,'" the *Liverpool Catholic Times* says (February 18):

We hear from time to time talk about the "wealth of the Catholic Church" and the "enormous resources of the Vatican." In some quarters the legend lives on that some of these resources are employed in buying up statesmen and party leaders in various countries to forward "the ambitious policy of the Papacy." During the short-lived outcry about the Marlborough case one usually respectable London daily suggested that at Rome money could buy anything and the Vatican was always ready to add to "its wealth" by dealing tenderly with a rich client. Sometimes when one challenges such statements and suggestions with the plain fact that the resources of the Holy See are now very limited, the reply is a reference to the "treasures of the Vatican," its library, its art collections, and to the splendour of the Basilica of St. Peter's and its stately ceremonials. Does not all this imply vast wealth?

The obvious answer is that Pius XI is no more the personal possessor of the treasures of art and literature accumulated during many centuries at the Vatican than King George V is one penny the richer for the collections of the British Museum and the National Gallery. Pope and King are alike only trustees for what are really world possessions.

As for St. Peter's, perhaps the most costly ceremonials of which it is the scene are those of solemn canonisations. The cost of these is met not by the Holy See but by the dioceses and the religious Orders that have promoted the cause of canonisation. The fabric of St. Peter's is maintained by a special commission. The latest estimate of its annual cost is not very recent. It is that of Grimaldi, in his work on the Roman Congregations, published in 1890. He states that for some years the average outlay was 190,000 lire, or, at the rate of the time, about £7,500. This included not only maintenance, but a consider-

able amount of new artistic work, and this is enough to show on what economic lines the expenditure of the Holy See is conducted.

Economy is a necessity, for the time is long past when it could be said that any considerable annual or accumulated resources were at the disposal of the Popes. The oldest account we have of the Papal budget dates from the end of the sixth century, and shows that then the chief revenue of the Popes came from various landed possessions devoted to the maintenance of the Holy See. In the Middle Ages, and for some time after, these resources were very considerable. Besides Peter's Pence collected in many countries (in some cases by a regular system of taxation), there were large payments from wealthy Sees on the appointment of each successive Bishop, revenues of vacant episcopates, abbacies and incumbencies, and a revenue from abbeys and benefices directly dependent on the Holy See.

Added to these were the gifts of pilgrims to Rome, and not a few of the Popes were themselves sons of princely or rich families whose personal resources were available for the building and maintenance of basilicas and Papal palaces, and the Popes were also sovereigns of a large territory and held feudal rights of revenue from kingdoms and principalities under the suzerainty or protection of the Papacy.

All that belongs to the past. The Holy See has now a slender revenue derived almost entirely from the free-will offerings of the faithful. Of this only the merest trifle is allotted to the personal expenditure of the Sovereign Pontiff himself. In recent times Pope after Pope has lived a simple—almost austere simple life. The expenditure of Pius XI on his own daily needs is probably far less than that of many in Anglican rector or vicar in charge of a by no means well endowed incumbency.

But the Holy See has to provide for the maintenance of what may be familiarly described as the great "Civil Service" organised for the conduct of its world-wide government and administration of the Catholic Church. It has to keep in communication with more than a thousand dioceses in every part of the world. It has to maintain nunciatures and delegations in order to conduct its relations with governments and peoples in every continent. It has to provide help for the missions, though this direct assistance from Rome is only a part of their maintenance.

Further, the Holy See is the almoner of the Catholic world, and its charitable aid is not restricted to distress among its own spiritual subjects.

In recent years Benedict XV and Pius XI have again and again appealed to the Catholic world for help to be given to the victims of war, famine, pestilence and other calamities of our time. In every case such appeals have been accompanied by an immediate contribution from the limited revenue of the Holy See itself.

Considering the enormous field to be covered, the expenditure is conducted on the most economic lines, with the result that its total cost is undoubtedly far below that of even the administrative budget of the smallest States in Europe. This is rendered possible by the fact that the work is done by men who have no idea of growing rich in the service of this spiritual power. In more than one

country efforts are now being made to add to the annual revenue of the Holy See by a better organising of what has been for centuries, in many lands, one of the most useful methods of enabling the faithful to regularise their contributions to its maintenance.

It had its origin in the England of Saxon days, and takes its name of "Peter's Pence" from the fact that it was originally levied by the Kings of Wessex in the form of a tax of one penny each year from each household—this, of course, in days when a penny was worth much more than it can buy at present. One can judge its higher value from the fact that the laws of King Edward the Confessor required a silver penny to be paid by every household and monastery that possessed land or cattle to the annual value of thirty pence.

It was paid in the month after the feast of SS. Peter and Paul. The pious custom spread quickly through all the northern lands, and we read of the Norse settlers in Greenland, in the Middle Ages, sending their Peter's Pence to Rome, not in coin, but in the form of a bale of hides and walrus ivory. Later the payment everywhere ceased to be a tax and became a voluntary contribution.

American Chapter of the Knights of Malta.—We are indebted to the *Catholic Register* and *Canadian Extension* for the following:

By establishing a chapter of the Knights of Malta in the United States the Holy Father has linked the Catholic life of the youngest nation in the Church's family with the history, traditions and glories of her medieval peoples. Eight centuries after the foundation of this great Order and more than four hundred years after the frontier of Catholicism was pushed westward to the Americas, the Knights of Malta are to follow the Cross over the Atlantic; not, however, with the arms and aims of their ancient chivalry but as a new crusade for Catholic faith, charity, and education. Indeed, the military character and conquests of this Order belong to the past—to those ages when the Christian Europe was struggling against the Saracen invasions; when the Holy Places were to be wrested from the infidel, and when the very existence of western civilization was at stake in the great battle of Lepanto, in 1571.

It is now more than two hundred years since the Knights of Malta fought their last great fight with sword and cannon. That was in May, 1721, when they defeated a horde of Tunisian pirates (Mohammedans of North Africa) in a naval engagement, sank or scattered their fleet, and captured their standard, which was sent as a gift to Pope Innocent XIII. This trophy of the final military triumph of the Knights may still be seen in the Basilica of St. John Lateran in Rome.

The virtues, the vicissitudes and the victories which fill the history of the Knights of Malta during the last eight hundred years cannot even be sketched in the compass of a few hundred words. The telling of all these would be in the main the story of the almost continuous conflicts of Christian Europe with Mohammedan Asia. It would be an epic recounting not only knightly valor and brilliant deeds of arms, but the saving of the religion, the culture, and the political institutions of the West from bondage to an oriental fanaticism.

It was in the performance of works of charity that this Order had its beginning. Its preoccupation now with the care of the sick and the poor is only a return to its original activity. The Order sprang from the "Friars of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem," who were at first no more than nurses of sick pilgrims journeying to and through the Holy Land. When it became necessary not only to succor these pilgrims, but to safeguard the Holy Places, there was added to the three religious vows of the Friars Hospitallers a fourth, by which they were pledged to defend the Christian people and shrines of Palestine against the Saracens. That was about the year 1187. It was then that the Friars Hospitallers began their career as one of the most intrepid, the most romantic and the most powerful of the Christian knightly orders.

Three categories formed the membership of the Order. In the first of these were the Nobles and Knights, whose duty it was to protect the persons and the faith of the pilgrims; in the second category were the chaplains who fulfilled the divine offices and administered the sacraments, and in the third were the servants, or esquires, who attended the Knights and carried their shields and weapons. For nearly two hundred years the "Friars" remained the only garrison of Catholicism at its eastern-most boundary, fighting almost constantly against the cruel and despotic Caliphs. Finally, in 1291, they were compelled to abandon the Holy Land and retire to the Island of Cyprus. Still later (1310) they conquered Rhodes and held it against many stubborn sieges and numerous bloody assaults, until 1523. During their long occupancy and defense of Palestine, the "Friars" came to be known as the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Afterwards, when they had been for many years in Rhodes, they were commonly called the Knights of Rhodes. Their present name was given them because of their identification with the Island of Malta, which was their home and their headquarters for nearly three centuries.

Following their surrender of Rhodes to the Sultan Soliman II., after a desperate resistance, the Knights were without a country for seven years. They wandered from place to place seeking the aid with which they hoped to recover their former stronghold. Pope Clement VII. assigned to them the city of Viterbo and then pressed Charles V. of Spain to give them the Island of Malta. Charles consented and in 1530 the Knights went to their new post to become once more the protectors of Christian Europe from the incursions and campaigns undertaken by the Mohammedans to extend their conquests, which, within the next few years, were to put them in possession of Constantinople.

Malta, studding the sea between the northernmost headlands of Africa and Sicily, even in modern times is of immense strategic importance. In the sixteenth century it was a barrier in the path of the Mohammedan fleets attempting to attack the coasts of Italy and France. In this fortress in the middle of the Mediterranean, then, the Knights guarded the kingdoms on the mainland. The Mohammedans saw that they must make this stronghold their own if they were to carry the Crescent once more into Western Europe. They long prepared to achieve this mastery of the Mediterranean. A great Sultan built and manned a mighty fleet for the trial, which came at last in the epochal battle of Lepanto.

The Mohammedans were overwhelmed, and their defeat marked the beginning of the end of their menace by sea.

When, gradually, the Mohammedan power had waned and the blows that Islam struck at Europe became fewer and feebler, there was left for the Knights none of the glorious warfare they had waged for the faith during half a millennium. The days of Christian chivalry were soon to pass. Its most illustrious exemplars were ere long to draw their swords for the last time in combat with the Saracen infidel—in the battle with the Tunisian corsairs in 1721. In a little more than two hundred years after Lepanto the Knights were driven from their island. This time their foe was not a Mohammedan Sultan, but the head of a western Christian State—Napoleon Bonaparte. The French fleet, on its way to Egypt, appeared in sight of the Maltese Archipelago in June, 1798. Napoleon himself was in command. He asked permission to land in Malta and get fresh water for his ships. Grand Master Hompesch, foreseeing that this demand would end in the assertion of a French claim to the island and its subsequent occupation by the forces of France, ventured a refusal. But the island was not prepared for resistance. Many of the inhabitants were partisans of France. The Grand Master called a council of his Knights. There was but one course. Capitulation was inevitable, and it came quickly. For this surrender Grand Master Hompesch was censured by the Knights in Europe. He resigned. The island passed to French control.

On the resignation of Grand Master Hompesch, the Knights nominated as his successor Emperor Paul I. of Russia. In view of the extraordinary conditions then prevailing throughout Europe, the Pope consented to the election of a non-Catholic as Grand Master, for the first time in the history of the Order. Emperor Paul promised to respect all that belonged to the religious character of the Order, and then solemnly received the Degree and insignia of Grand Master at St. Petersburg. On Paul's death, in 1801, Pope Pius VII. personally selected John Baptist Tomassi, of Cortona, Italy, to be Grand Master.

Meantime Admiral Nelson had taken Malta from the French and occupied it in the name of the British crown. In the Treaty of Amiens (1802) it was decided—and England agreed—that the island should be restored to the Knights of Malta. But England had learned the advantage of Malta to her own interests in the Mediterranean, and refused on one pretext or another to keep her promise. Despite the protests of the Knights, the Congress of Vienna (1814) confirmed England's possession of the whole Maltese Archipelago.

Thus, after 268 years of dominion, the Sovereign Military Order of St. John of Jerusalem lost all territorial jurisdiction. Accordingly, for more than a century since, the Order has restricted its activities to the field of sanitary assistance and beneficence. During the World War in the more recent fighting between Greece and Turkey, the Knights have had and improved many opportunities to match their former valor with their generous charity. Since 1923 the Order has ministered to the sick, the poor, the orphans and the outcasts of the Near East. It has established hospitals, welfare centers and indeed entire villages for these sufferers and refugees.

Those nominated by the Holy See to establish an American Chapter of the Order are: James J. Phelan, Boston, Master; John D. Ryan, New York; John J. Raskob, New York; James A. Farrell, New York; Edward F. Carry, Chicago; James A. Fayne, Patrick Crowley; Nicholas F. Brady, and Judge Morgan J. O'Brien, New York, and Edward N. Hurley, Chicago. Edward L. Hearn is the American Chapter's lay representative in Rome. All these and others who may yet be selected will share membership with many of the most illustrious men and women now living. The Holy Father himself is a Knight of Malta. In its roster are also all the sovereigns of Europe from Victor Emmanuel of Italy to Alfonso of Spain, and the former Emperor of Germany, and the former Kings of Bavaria, Saxony, and Portugal. The Princes of Bourbon, pretenders to the throne of France, and all the Princes, Archbishops and Infantas of the royal families also are members. Among the Dames of the Order are Empresses, Queens, and Princesses.

The Order has the privilege of diplomatic representation at the Holy See. This embassy is now vacant because the Grand Master, Prince Galeazzo von Thun Hohenstein, resides in Rome. In addition, the Order has an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister plenipotentiary to the Republic of Austria. The Grand Prior of the Order is always a member of the Sacred College—at present, Cardinal Bisleti. Many other members of the Sacred College, including Cardinal Mundelein, are among the chief dignitaries of the Order.

The Papal Eastern Institute.—The Papal Eastern Institute ("Pontificio Instituto Orientale") now vies with the three-centuries old Urban College ("The Propaganda") in its international character, says the *Universe* (London) of date April 9:

Founded by the Holy Father to prepare a trained band of chosen workers for the reunion of the separated churches of the Near East with the centre of Catholic unity, by a specialised course of higher studies, its students do not belong only to the nations of Eastern Europe and Western Asia. Amongst them at the present time nineteen nations of the East and West are represented.

A few weeks ago, in his address to the students of the Italian Universities, the Holy Father pointed out that one of the chief sources of division between East and West was the widespread lack of sympathetic understanding of each other's standpoint. One of the special objects of the Institute is to lay the foundation of this sympathetic mutual understanding between those who look forward to practical work for the long desired reunion and those among whom they are to labour.

On the feast of the Annunciation Pius XI gave audience to the professors and students of the Institute. They were headed by their President, Monsignor Michel d'Herbigny, Titular Bishop of Ilium, lately returned from a long visit to Russia. Amongst the students the nationalities represented were Italy, France, England, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Russia, Ukrania, Esthonia, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey and Albania, and besides these Croats and Slovenes from Yugoslavia, and Maronites from Syria. Amongst them were rep-

representatives of eight religious orders, Benedictines, Dominicans, Franciscans, Capuchins, Jesuits, Assumptionists, Maronite monks, and Salvatorians of the Eastern Rite.

It was such a gathering as only the Catholic Church could bring together—men of so many nations united heart and soul in the same faith, the same loving devotion to their Supreme Pastor. Each of them in turn was presented to the Holy Father, who had a few words for every one of them, and then he addressed them all in a discourse in which he dwelt upon the importance of the mission to which they were called, and spoke of his special affection for the Institute and all who collaborated in its work.

He was pleased, he said, that they had come to him on this feast of Our Lady, which might also be regarded as the feast of the Angel of the Annunciation, St. Gabriel, who was venerated as the patron of the East, especially in the Slav countries. He spoke of the Institute—"mio caro Istituto Orientale"—"my beloved Eastern Institute"—as very dear to his heart, founded to prepare efficient workers for the reunion of the Eastern Churches. They were to take their part in a vast enterprise.

In a brief survey of the special mission field he spoke of its wide extension in our own day. It extended from Russia to the Balkan lands, from Roumania to Greece; over Western Asia, Georgia and Irak, and even to India in Malabar; through the lands of Islam in Asia and Africa, with the churches of the Maronite, Melchite, Copt and Abyssinian rites; and even to America, where, as the result of emigration from Eastern lands, there were congregations of both Uniat Catholics and of the separated Churches. Such a survey suggested that the Eastern Institute was "like a drop in the ocean."

But relying on the Divine aid and protection, he counted upon the Institute and each of its students being like the seed from which the great tree springs, like the leaven which permeates the mass in which it is placed. They were a little band, and as specially selected volunteers for the task before them they could never be numerous. What was needed was that each and all should spare no effort to make the most of the opportunities the Institute offered to them.

Few they might be but they should be equivalent to many by perfect preparation for their life work, and generous, courageous zeal for the task before them. Union with God, cultivation of heart and mind, intellect and will, would multiply their effective force. For the time being their energies were to be concentrated on acquiring the knowledge that would direct their future labours to success, knowledge of the past and present of our separated brethren of the East, linked always with the cultivation of that internal spirit of piety, without which all external work is only "vain clamour and useless and fruitless activity."

Religious Liberty in America.—Miss Elizabeth S. Kite says in a recent editorial sheet of the N. C. W. C.:

The present religious troubles in Mexico, affecting so vast a body of people and making the practise of their religion a crime, gives pertinence and profit to

an examination into the origin of the religious rights enjoyed by American Catholics.

The first definite step towards establishing religious liberty in America, was taken several years before the United States came into being. This was in 1774 when the British Parliament passed the Quebec Bill. By the provisions of this bill, the boundaries of Canada were extended to the limits of the territory of New France as ceded to the British after the close of the French and Indian War in 1763, that is to say, down to the Ohio River and back to the Mississippi; and in all this vast territory the free exercise of the Catholic religion was secured to the inhabitants.

The language of the bill is of so much interest that it is worth repeating here:

"And for the more perfect security and ease of the minds of the Inhabitants of the said Province, it is hereby declared, That His Majesty's Subjects professing the Religion of the Church of Rome, of, and in the said Province of Quebec, . . . may have, and hold, and enjoy, the free exercise of the Religion of the Church of Rome, subject to the King's Supremacy, . . . and the Clergy of the said Church may hold, receive and enjoy their accustomed Dues and Rights, with respect to such Persons only as shall profess the said Religion."

The consternation caused among the Colonists by this Act of toleration promulgated in a neighboring Province, is well known, and in the excitement of the time was used as a blind to cover up the far greater alarm felt regarding that part of the Act which at one fell stroke wiped out the vast Hinterland whose untold riches were already being looked upon with jealous eyes by the people of the Colonies. The loss of this Hinterland was the immediate cause of the convening of the First Continental Congress though in their publications the Delegates took pains to emphasize the high moral principles by which they imagined themselves to be actuated, especially their horror at finding a religion established "at our very doors that has deluged your Island with blood (addressing the British public) and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder and rebellion through every part of the world."

As proof that this was mere verbiage, "loose sentences used for political ends" as was said, we have another document approved and signed by the same group of men five days later and addressed to the People of Quebec. Nothing could be more curious than the complete volte-face achieved by this stern Puritan body in so short a space of time. Respect for the now legalized religion of the Canadians becomes the dominant note of this second appeal intended to bring the inhabitants of that Province to a sincere espousal of the Colonists' cause. Without apology for past utterances and assuming an air of tolerance wholly above criticism the letter announces: "We are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation to imagine that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us. You know that the transcendent nature of freedom elevates those who unite in her cause, above all such low-minded infirmities. The Swiss Cantons furnish a memorable proof of this truth. Their union is composed of Roman Catholic and Protestant States, living in the utmost concord and peace with one another, and thereby enabled, ever

since they bravely vindicated their freedom, to defy and defeat every tyrant that has invaded them."

Unfortunately for the Congress, the Address to the People of Great Britain and the tirade against the Church of Rome contained therein did not remain unknown to the Canadians so that it is hardly to be wondered at that they declined the invitation of that "double-faced perfidious body" as they termed it, and remained loyal to the "benevolent Prince" who had respected the religious heritage of the people and protected it by law. No immediate response, however, could be considered final, and during the whole of 1775 and the following winter, the Congress still hoped to win the Canadians. A second letter was sent to them when the Congress again convened, May 1775, and one of the first acts of the new Commander-in-Chief when he had succeeded in organizing the beginning of an Army, was to draft Instructions to General Arnold for the Canadian campaign that had been decided upon. A proclamation in the form of hand-bills, was to go before, assuring the people that the armed force was sent only to help deliver them from the common oppressor and urging them to join in that effort. In the Instructions to the General, the strictest discipline was enjoined and no occasion was to be lost for conciliating the affections of the people. Article 14 deals exclusively with their religion, and here we have the next step in the path that was to lead finally to our present universal toleration. The Article reads:

"As contempt of the religion of a country by ridiculing any of its ceremonies, or affronting its ministers or votaries, has ever been deeply resented, you are to be particularly careful to restrain every officer and soldier from such imprudence and folly, and to punish every instance of it. On the other hand, as far as lies in your power, you are to protect and support the free exercise of the religion of the country and the undisturbed enjoyment of the rights of conscience in religious matters, with your utmost influence and authority."

In the letter that accompanies the Instructions, General Washington further says: "I also give it in charge to you to avoid all disrespect or contempt of the religion of the country and its ceremonies. . . . While we are contending for our own liberty, we should be very cautious of violating the rights of conscience in others ever considering that God alone is the judge of hearts of men, and to Him only in this case they are answerable."

Six weeks later, in abolishing forever the atrocious "Pope Day" celebrations, it is again the need of winning Canada to the cause which furnishes General Washington with the actual pretext. In the "Orders for the Day" Nov. 5, we read: "As the Commander-in-Chief has been apprised of a design formed for the observance of that ridiculous and childish custom of burning the effigy of the Pope, he cannot help expressing his surprise that there should be officers and soldiers in this army so void of common sense as not to see the impropriety of such a step at this juncture; at a time when we are soliciting . . . the friendship and alliance of the people of Canada, whom we ought to consider as brothers embarked in the same cause—the defense of the general liberty of America . . . to be insulting to their religion, is so monstrous as not to be suffered or excused; . . ."

Already the attitude of Colonial America toward the Catholic Church was undergoing a change, for, with a few striking exceptions, the liberty of worship sought by the Colonial founders had not included the possibility of sharing it with "Papists." Great Britain's conquest of Canada, however questionable her motives, and her faithfulness to the terms of the articles of capitulation of Quebec and Montreal, and to the obligations of the Treaty of 1763, which were confirmed by the Quebec Act, set a standard of toleration which the Colonists, whatever their personal prejudices, were not slow in recognizing and imitating.

These early efforts at conciliation in regard to the Canadians opened the way for the alliance of 1778 between the Colonists and a great Catholic Power. In the meantime, however, the struggle to bring Canada over to the Colonial cause continued. On Feb. 15, 1776, Congress voted to send a Commission to Quebec to look into military affairs and also if possible to stir up friendly feelings. To more effectually promote this object, the Rev. John Carroll (afterwards Archbishop of Baltimore) was requested to accompany the Commissioners, one of whom was his cousin, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, prominent member of the Committee of Safety of Maryland, and a Catholic. Their Instructions included among the concessions the Commissioners were to propose respecting the free practise of the Catholic religion the assurance that Congress held "sacred the rights of conscience; that it would promise to the whole people, solemnly, the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion; and to the clergy the full, perfect and peaceable possession and enjoyment of all their estates; that the government of everything relative to their creed and clergy should be left entirely in the hands of the good people of the Province. . . ."

Before the Commissioners had returned from their unsuccessful Canadian mission the Committee of Secret Correspondence of Congress had dispatched a commercial and political agent, Silas Deane of Connecticut, to Europe for the purpose of entering into relations with France. Benjamin Franklin followed in December and in a little over a year the Treaties of Amity and Commerce were signed between the United States and France.

On May 20, 1778, on one of the vessels of the royal fleet, a High Mass was said, accompanied by the blessing of a stack of arms which was the signal of the entry of the Most Christian King of France into the war on the side of the Americans. On board the same vessel and present with his suite at this solemn ceremony was the newly appointed Minister to the United States, Conrad-Alexandre Gerard, on his way to establish himself at the seat of government in Philadelphia.

Congress was not long in learning that it was not only definitely committed to a policy of universal Catholic toleration but that it had put itself in a position of being forced on occasion to participate, at least in so far as attendance was concerned, in public acts of Catholic worship, for there was no way to escape the obligation of accepting the invitations of the official Representative of France. Moreover, the officers and men of the French army, fighting side by side with those of America, further familiarized the people with acts of Catholic worship so that long before the end of the Revolutionary period any governmental act of intolerance had become unthinkable.

In Rome, however, the reputation of America was such that, judging from past experience especially in the Province of Maryland, the Congregation of the Propaganda took occasion at the beginning of 1783 to write to the Papal Nuncio in Paris instructing him to solicit "the insertion of some article, directed towards the preservation and extension of the Catholic religion, in the treaty which is about to be concluded among the powers that have recently been at war" To which the Nuncio replied: "As regards the United States of North America, which, in future, are to be recognized as a new sovereign republic, the count (de Vergennes) promises himself that, as all religions, and their public practise, are tolerated in that country, upon principle, there will be consent, not only to the presence of Catholic missionaries, but also to the appointment of one of the citizens of that country, as Vicar-Apostolic with Episcopal character. . . ."

The Comte de Vergennes was not mistaken. Congress readily approved the appointment of the Rev. John Carroll to the post in 1784, although it took no official action in the matter, which was held to be something wholly outside the limits of its jurisdiction.

The Articles of Confederation, which had held Congress together during the war even though they were not signed by a sufficient number of states to make them legally binding until 1781, contained no clause dealing with religion, but the Ordinance of 1787, for the Government of the Territory of the United States North West of the Ohio River, bringing Congress again into touch with the Catholic religion established there by the Quebec Act of 1774, especially provides, Section 13, that: "for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis upon which republics, their laws and constitutions are erected, to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory . . . It is hereby ordained and declared . . .

"Article I. No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship, or religious sentiments, in the said territory."

Following the same principle, Article VI. of the Constitution, which came into force in 1788, provided that "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification for office or public trust under the United States," but there was no clause dealing with religious liberty inserted in the document. The First Amendment to the Constitution adopted in 1791, rectified this by declaring: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof . . ."

Thus between 1774, when Congress issued its "Address to the People of Great Britain," and 1791, when the first ten Amendments to the Constitution were ratified, the United States completed the journey from narrow bigotry to complete religious toleration.

The Swiss Guard of the Vatican.—On May 6, the fourth Centenary of the "Tragic Day" which witnessed the most dreadful event in all the chronicles of the Eternal City—the Sack of Rome, which began on May 6, 1527—Pope

Pius XI, presided at the fourth centenary of the Swiss Guard which saved Clement VII from the hordes who began the work of plunder and destruction in St. Peter's.

The Holy Father said Mass in the Consistorial Hall, distributing Holy Communion to all, and received them in the Sala Clementina, their special hall at the Vatican, all the men receiving the *Benemerenti* medal in honour of the centenary, and the officers distinctions in Orders of various grades. His Holiness took occasion of the anniversary to speak of the unfailing devotion of the celebrated corps, the same to-day as when put to the proof four hundred years ago. It was a quiet celebration "in family"; the inauguration of the commemorative monument will take place in October. For the closing day of the Triduum up at Sta Croce in Gerusalemme the old basilica could contain, and scarcely that, no more than the clergy, the people filling the square outside and overflowing through the gardens between Sta Croce and St. John Lateran. The solemn Mass was pontificated by Cardinal Merry del Val, Cardinal Van Rossum, titular of Sta Croce, bearing the holy relic in the procession and giving Benediction in the afternoon.

The Guard is one of the oldest military organisations in the world. It was formed in the first years of the 16th century in the Pontificate of Julius II. Recruited in the Forest Cantons round the Lake of Lucerne, the new regiment, 200 strong, under its first "Captain-Colonel," Gaspard von Silenen, of Uri, made the long march over the Alpine passes and through north and central Italy to Rome.

Von Silenen commanded the Swiss Guard till his death in 1517. He was succeeded in the rank of Captain-Colonel by Max Roust, of Zurich, whose ten years of command ended with the glorious and tragic day of May 6th, 1527.

The sack of Rome came as the unexpected climax of a long war between the Emperor Charles V and Pope Clement VII. Neither the Pope nor the Emperor had foreseen nor could either prevent the tragedy.

Pope Clement VII ardently but vainly sought for peace in an atmosphere of confusion, and violence. The Constable, or Charles Bourbon, leader of the imperial army, "a valiant but poor cavalier," to use his own words, was a Frenchman by birth and of the blood royal, driven into the service of the Emperor. He was one of the leading protagonists in the tragedy at Rome. Count Frundsberg, a German soldier of fortune, organizer and leader of the German mercenaries known as "Landsknechte" or "Knights of the Lance"—men who fought for any man or any cause if the pay were large enough—was another leading figure.

Alarm attained the proportion of a general panic. Distant drums and the heavy tread of marching feet were heard. Then the invading army came rushing in from the north.

Famished, half dead with exhaustion, at last they reached the slopes and ridges of the Janiculum. Here the tide broke against the walls of the Vatican and the Castle Sant' Angelo. From the vineyards of the Church of Sant' Onofrio—still standing—the mercenaries could easily look into the upper stories of the Vatican Palace. A council held at midnight before the high altar of Sant' Onofrio decided that an attack on the city should be made in the early hours of the morning of May 6. At dawn that morning Rome was stormed by the army

of the renegade. Bourbon was shot dead as he mounted the wall, and infuriated at his loss his followers sacked the city.

Some thousands of the invaders pressed on towards St. Peter's and the Vatican. The great Basilica was then being reconstructed. But the facade built by Constantine the Great, twelve hundred years before this time, was still standing and with it the "atrium"—the large square courtyard in front of it, through which lay the way to the Vatican. Max Roust and his Guardsmen had hastily barricaded the courtyard, and here they awaited the attack—two hundred sturdy Switzers wearing helmet and cuirass, and armed with the traditional weapons of their country, the heavy halber and the long-handed sword. A summons to clear the way, with the promise of fair quarter, was indignantly rejected. Max Roust's order to his mountaineers was that they must stand fast and die where they stood.

For two hours they held their own, beating off attack after attack, in fierce hand-to-hand fighting, the later attacks covered by the fire of musketeers, who reached points of vantage on adjacent buildings, from which they could fire upon the defenders of the barricades. Each onset cost the assailants heavy loss, but they had numbers on their side and the little band of Switzers was gradually dwindling as man after man fell dead or seriously wounded.

At last when Max Roust and everyone of his officers and most of their men had been struck down with bullet, sword or pike, and only a mere handful remained, these were overwhelmed by a final rush of the enemy. But the determined stand of the Swiss Guard had enabled the Pope to escape from the Vatican and make his way in safety to the Castle of St. Angelo.

All Rome except the Castle of St. Angelo was now in the hands of the invaders. The conquered city was now at their mercy. The fury of the soldiers swept through the streets of the stricken city. At first they slew all persons who came within their reach, men and women and children. It is the testimony of a Captain of the Landsknechte that more than 6,000 perished at the hands of the soldiery before the sun set on that long day.

It had been ordered that the pillage was to last no longer than eight days, but the soldiers cared nothing for this command and kept up the general rapine for weeks and months. The value of the spoils captured by the mercenaries has been estimated at 50,000,000 ducats.

Meanwhile, they were still engaged with savage intensity upon the siege of Castle Sant' Angelo. Months had passed, and the Pope with his Cardinals and the garrison were in a state of abject misery. All were suffering from hunger. Negotiations for the payment of a huge ransom were being conducted between the leaders of the mercenaries and the Pope, but they all failed. In the city a terrible pestilence appeared, which not only cost the lives of hundreds upon hundreds of the inhabitants but began also to thin the ranks of the Landsknechte. After ten months of untold misery, and then only because of the ravages of the pest among the soldiers and because of gradual exhaustion due to excesses of every kind, the long period of suffering—the longest Rome had ever known—came to an end. The remaining mercenaries were paid and the Pope was once more free to leave the fortress.

The heroic self-sacrifice of the Guard was the motive of the commemorative ceremony of May 6, which is the annual fête day of the Guardsmen. It begins with a march to the chapel of SS. Martin and Sebastian, where there is Mass, a general Communion and Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament for the rest of the day. Later there is another full-dress parade when the new recruits take their oath of service.

After the sack of Rome the Swiss Guard was not reconstituted until 1548, when, during the Pontificate of Paul III. a new guard for the Vatican was recruited in the Catholic Cantons of Switzerland.

Towards the end of the Eighteenth century there was another temporary disbandment of the Guard after the occupation of Rome by the French revolutionary armies. It was reconstituted after the return of Pius VI in 1815. Its present strength is about a hundred officers and men. Recruits must be Catholics of Swiss nationality, bringing with them a special recommendation from the ecclesiastical authorities of their Canton. They must be men of thoroughly sound health and good physique, at least 25 years of age.

Most of them have already done their short term of service in the Swiss National Army. Gymnastics are part of their regular training in the Guard, and in recent years football has become one of their favourite sports. Their quarters are in the Vatican and their parade ground is the large Belvidere Court.

Their permanent duty is to supply guards, day and night, for all approaches to that part of the Vatican which is the residence of the Pope. An officer and number of the men are on duty during the Papal audiences, and visitors to Rome will recall the helpfulness with which the Swiss sentinel is ready to give directions and information in response to their enquiries. Most of the Guard are German-speaking natives of the Forest Cantons, but there are also some from the French-speaking Cantons.

The Council of Trent and the Bible.—Rev. James T. Cotter, writing in the *Denver Catholic Register* says:

The Council of Trent was convened by order of Pope Paul III, and its opening session took place Dec. 13, 1545. The primary purpose of the council was to define with precision the dogmas of faith especially those that had been attacked by the Protestant Revolution, and to legislate necessary reforms in matters of discipline. The heresies of the early centuries were directed mainly against the Christian doctrines concerning the nature of God, the Blessed Trinity, and the relation of God with man in the incarnation. In the Protestant Revolution of the 16th century, however, a direct attack was made on the Christian life in its very essential principles, involving a denial of the teaching authority of the Church, as the divinely appointed guardian and dispenser of the mysteries of God. The Bible was proclaimed to be the sole source of revelation and faith, and the principle of private judgment was insisted on as the authoritative rule of interpretation. "Each one," says Luther, "is certain what to believe and follow, and is the freest judge of all who teach him, for he is in-

wardly instructed by God only, and under the direct illumination of the Holy Ghost." Unwritten doctrinal tradition was rejected as a source of divine revelation, and the claims of the Church as a divinely constituted teaching authority were denied. Hence in the Council of Trent the work of defining the faith and of reforming discipline proceeded side by side. In the dogmatic decrees the Catholic faith was first stated in a precise form (the *Capitula*) and then the contrary errors were condemned in brief and precise terms (the *Canon*). It was in the fourth session that the council took up the matter of the Canonical Scriptures. The list of books regarded by the Church as inspired by the Holy Ghost was first given, and this list included those that were from the first regarded as inspired, and those that were subsequently added to the canonical works of inspired writings. The first were known as proto-canonical and the second as deutero-canonical. Hence the Council at the very start set its seal of sanction on the Greek translation of the seventy, or the Alexandrian Canon—which included those books of the second class in preference to the Palestinian Canon which rejected them. The books in dispute were in the Old Testament, Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch and the first and second book of Maccabees, as well as parts of Esther and Daniel. The Tridentine Fathers recognized the fact that the Apostles had shown a preference for the Alexandrian Canon by quoting from this Greek version. Some books also of the New Testament rejected by Luther, such as the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, and the Apocalypse, were received as inspired Scripture by the Council. These latter books were also included by the followers of Luther in later versions, and are today to be found in the King James version, although the former are not.

This Canon of the Council of Trent cannot be considered as new. It is exactly the same (with the exception of the explicit mention of the book of Baruch, formerly attached to the Lamentations of Jeremias) as the Canon of Pope Damasus (366-384), sent by Pope Innocent I to St. Eupherius in 405, republished by Pope Gelasius (492-496), and again by Pope Hormisdas (514-523), inserted by Gratian in the *Lectrals* and published once more by Pope Eugenius IV in the Council of Florence (1439-1445). The Council of Trent now repeats the Canon with the further explanation that it "receives and venerates all the books of the Old and New Testaments, for one God is the author of both; and also the traditions relating to faith and morals, as having been dictated either orally by Christ or by the Holy Ghost, and preserved by an unbroken succession in the Catholic Church." To all the books, therefore, is attributed an equal authority based on an equal inspiration. And those are condemned who refuse to accept these books, with all their parts, as they are read in the Catholic Church, and found in the old Latin Vulgate edition, since such writings are sacred and canonical. It is to be recalled here that this Latin Vulgate edition is the version of St. Jerome made from an old Latin version, from the original Hebrew, from the Greek translation of the seventy and from the *Hanaplar* of Origen. The council declared the translation of St. Jerome to be official and authentic for the Western Church.

The original Scriptures are intrinsically authentic for they are inspired by God, who is therefore their author. And they are intrinsically and publicly authentic because God has revealed both the fact of their inspiration and the Canon of Scripture; and the Church, the public competent authority and infallible teacher, has proposed these dogmas to the faithful for their belief. Moreover, the Church has declared the canonicity of the Scriptures in no mere abstract way, but has always taught that those very Scriptures, which she had in her keeping, and presented to the faithful as the Word of God, were authentic. Hence the Church has always held that the holy writings which were in her possession, were a faithful copy of those originally inspired by the Holy Spirit of God.

The Council of Trent, while officially sanctioning the Vulgate version of St. Jerome, does not prefer this version to the original texts or to the ancient versions that have always been in ecclesiastical use, such as the Syriac, Coptic, Itala, nor does it deny the authenticity of any version of the Bible other than the Vulgate. But the older versions, however accurate, and intrinsically authentic and whatever intrinsic authenticity any of them may possess through long established usage in the Church, have not the public authenticity that the Vulgate version of St. Jerome has; for the intrinsic authenticity of the Vulgate is certified not only by history and criticism, and through its public use in the Church through many centuries, but also by the public and infallible declaration of the Church. The Vulgate therefore possesses a public intrinsic authenticity derived from the authoritative voice of the Church which no other version can claim. It is the authentic and official version of the Scriptures.

The decree of the Council of Trent, however, does not imply that the Vulgate versions then in use were absolutely free from error and in complete conformity in every way with the original Scriptures, but only that it contains no mistakes of such a kind as that an erroneous doctrine can be derived from them. This decision was not intended to forbid or exclude the use of the original text or of other translations sanctioned by tradition. Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical on Holy Scriptures says: "Although the meaning of the Hebrew and Greek idioms (all the Scriptures were originally written in Hebrew or Greek) is as far as the substance is concerned clear from the words of the Vulgate, yet if there be anything ambiguous or inaccurate introduced therein, an examination of the original language, according to the advice of St. Augustine, will be of great service."

According to Bellarmine, reference should be made to the original:

- (1) When there appears to be a mistake in the printed or written text.
- (2) When the Latin editions vary.
- (3) When a word or thought is ambiguous in the Latin in order to understand the peculiar use and emphasis of the words in the original.

As the Vulgate had suffered many alterations in consequence of having been frequently reproduced during a very long period, the council at the same session ordered that thenceforth only carefully revised editions of the Holy Scriptures and especially of the Vulgate should be issued. In this way the arbitrary

alterations of editors were to be checked and a return to the tradition of the Church was pointed out as the right course to pursue in restoring the purity of the Bible text.

Meantime the Holy See had determined to issue an official edition of the Vulgate. After much careful work upon it, the Roman edition appeared under Sixtus V, 1590, and again in a more accurate form under Clement VIII, 1592. As some misprints occurred, a more careful edition appeared in 1593, and 1598. This edition is now the standard edition of the Church, and all new impressions of the Vulgate must agree with it word for word. It is known as the Sixtine-Clementine Edition. Our official Douay-Rheims English translation is made from this Vulgate version. It may be remarked that in order to secure a more accurate copy of the original translation of St. Jerome's Vulgate—for it is certain that many variants have crept in as the result of typists' and copyists' errors—Pope Pius X in recent times has entrusted to the Benedictine Order the task of restoring the text of St. Jerome as faithfully as possible, and to make a collection of the various readings introduced in the various editions. This work is now in progress.

Finally, the rule of interpretation is enunciated by the council—that "in matters of faith and morals appertaining to the edification or building up of Christian doctrine," i. e. when there is question of those truths which it is the direct intention of God to reveal in Scripture, namely, the truths of salvation and those in direct relation with them, no one may give to the Scriptures an interpretation in opposition to the sense of the Church's definitions and her traditional teachings as contained in the council's and the unanimous doctrine of the Holy Fathers.

The Council of the Vatican developed this decree in a more positive form of declaring that in matters of faith and morals appertaining to the building up of Christian doctrine, that is to be regarded as the sense of Sacred Scripture which the Church, whose office it is to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, hath held and doth hold, and therefore no one may interpret Sacred Scripture in a contrary sense.

An Interesting Revelation.—At the meeting of the Supreme Council of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith which was held in Rome a few weeks ago Monsignor William Quinn, National Director in the United States, revealed the interesting fact that four dioceses of the United States alone contribute one-fourth of all the money given by the whole Catholic world for the support of Catholic Missions.

The representative of America was received by the participants in the meeting with great honor and affection personally and as the envoy of the thousands of American Catholics who have done such splendid work for missions through the Society of the Propagation of the Faith.

Cardinal Van Rossum, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, expressed, particular gratification at Monsignor Quinn's report; and the president of the Propagation work, Archbishop Marchetti Selvaggiani, who is an old friend of America, having lived in this country for many years as auditor of

the Apostolic Delegation, as has been recounted, exclaimed, after the American director's report: "America is the salvation of the missions."

There has not been told, however, the special tribute the Holy Father paid, the more gratifying since it was spontaneous.

When the Supreme Council, its meetings over, was presented to His Holiness by Cardinal Van Rossum, and the pope had given his affectionate greeting and words of encouragement to the group, he imparted his blessing to all. He then walked past all the members, addressing a word of paternal affection to each.

When he came to Monsignor Quinn, his eye lighted up, he smiled, and giving him his hand he said:

"Bravo, bravo, Monsignor Quinn! We congratulate you!"

Later His Holiness received Monsignor Quinn in a long private audience. He listened to the American representative's report with the closest attention, expressed the deepest satisfaction with America's record, and spoke earnestly of the greater things of the future. Then, telling the Monsignor of his ardent desire for the development of the missions, he blessed all those who had helped to make America's splendid contribution toward them.

There were present at the session of the Supreme Council this year representatives of 27 nations. The gathering was of especial importance, since the Council not only occupied itself with the allocation of subsidies to the missions, but examined, through the national director's reports, the condition of the work in all countries.

It was found that the condition in general is good, and that especially in some countries the organization is continually developing and giving gratifying moral and material results.

In the Supreme Council there are now 15 members resident in Rome and 21 members who are national directors.

The members residing in Rome are the president, Archbishop Marchetti Selvaggiani; the vice-president, Monsignor Boudinhon, of French nationality, in recognition of the origin of the work, which began in France and there had its first fruitful century of life; the secretary-general, Msgr. Giuseppe Nogara, who also was secretary of the Committee for the Holy Year of 1925; and the representatives of the United States, Canada, Scotland, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Holland, Ireland, Spain, Switzerland, England, and France. The representative of the United States is the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Moses Kiley, spiritual director of the North American College.

The national directors, who are members, are those from the United States, Austria, Bavaria, France (2—Lyons and Paris), England, Yugo-Slavia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Germany, India, Ireland, New Zealand, Holland, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Hungary and Venezuela. Of these only the first seven were personally present at the meetings of the Supreme Council; the others had sent written reports.

A Noble Heritage.—When the National Institute of Social Sciences recently presented medals for leadership in various fields of activity, the honor for journalism was received by Mr. Adolph Ochs, publisher and owner of the *New*

York Times. Reporting the event the *Catholic News* (New York) says editorially:

Every honest student of the American press today must admit that the responsible head of a newspaper of the character of the *New York Times* deserves special distinction, for by keeping his paper at a high level of honor and decency in these days of low-grade journalism he is a public benefactor.

That Mr. Ochs personally well merits this new honor that has come to him was revealed in a heart-gripping way in his speech of acceptance, in which he paid a fine tribute to his parents. His golden words deserve incorporation in every school reader in the country:

While I am complimented beyond expression by the signal honor you do me in awarding me this gold medal for 'maintaining and promoting high standards of journalism,' I must not take this expression of appreciation of decent journalism too personally, but rather regard it as an indication of the public interest in my occupation, and of what enlightened public opinion expects from it.

I must share the honor with others, for I cannot give myself the whole credit for what I have been able to do toward maintaining and promoting moral and ethical standards. I was born with them, and raised by parents who inculcated them in me by precept and example, and appeal to my reason; nor did they spare the rod to demonstrate physically the sincerity of their belief in them. I was so completely under parental care, guidance and supervision that up to the time I was seventeen years old I handed my pay envelope to my father unopened, and received my small weekly allowance of spending money.

My parents were God-fearing and pious. The golden rule was not only in a frame on the wall, but was deeply engraved in their hearts. My home was a sweet, joyous and happy one, where venerated parents were kind and indulgent, but tolerated nothing coarse or vulgar. Religion, literature, music, art and the finer things of life surrounded us and were included in the family curriculum.

Born to such a heritage, and living in such a house, I early learned what the real joys of life were, the worthwhile things; and casting my lot in a profession in which men and women find the greatest opportunity and satisfaction in practising the highest moral, ethical and professional standards, I but followed my natural bent, and grew up as my parents, by great sacrifice and intelligent and loving care, had started me.

In these days there is serious discussion concerning the shortcomings of youth and the way parents must act to bring too ardent juvenile spirits to their senses. Were there more parents like the devoted father and mother of Adolph S. Ochs there would be no youth problem in our land.

A Medieval Prelate-Surgeon.—Gregory Macdonald says in the *Universe* (London):

While Lord Lister is being honoured for his services to the human race, it would be appropriate if the name of a thirteenth-century prelate, Theodoric, Bishop of Cervia, were mentioned. For this prelate-surgeon was another Lister.

At the beginning of Lister's career, surgeons were using the methods of the eighteenth century, and their patients were dying by thousands. Lister went back to the methods of the thirteenth century, and his patients lived. It is a known fact that medieval surgeons had an efficient anæsthetic and a method of antisepsis. They operated on the skull for tumour or abscess, they opened the thorax for fluids, they had elaborate instruments for operations within the abdomen and the intestines.

They boasted of their "pretty linear cicatrices" which were nearly invisible when healed. Just as the Great War encouraged plastic surgery, so the Crusades enlarged the bounds of medieval medical knowledge.

A famous group of surgeons was the Borgognoni family of Lucca. Theodoric Borgognoni, Bishop of Cervia, laid down in 1266 the principle that wounds should heal without the appearance of pus. He attacked, as Lister did, the "modern surgeons" (so he called them in the thirteenth century) who taught that pus should be generated in wounds, and he described, in his text-book, "Cyrugia," antiseptic dressings which helped Nature to cleanse and heal a wound.

So this Dominican friar seven hundred years ago upheld the doctrine for which the name of Lord Lister is praised to-day. I do not say that Lister does not deserve his praise, for he has effected a revolution in medicine. But in the celebrations it is well that the name of Theodoric, Bishop of Cervia, should not be forgotten.

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